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Cross-Channel Hoarding in the Late Iron Age and Early Roman Periods (200 BC to AD 43)

Volume One of Two

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A thesis submitted for the fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in
Classics and Ancient History

University of Warwick, Department of Classics and Ancient History

March 2020

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Abbreviations

ABC = Rudd, C. (2010) *Ancient British Coins* (Norwich: Page Bros).

BMC.1 = Mattingly, H. (1965) *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum. Volume I. Augustus to Vitellius* (London: Trustees of the British Museum).

BN = Muret, E. & Chabouillet, A. (1889) *Catalogue des monnaies gauloises de la Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris: Librairie Plon).

CCI = The Celtic Coin Index, www.celticcoins.ca/, physical archive at Oxford School of Archaeology.

DT = Delestrée, L.P. & Tache, M. (2002) *Nouvel atlas des monnaies gauloises: I, de la Seine au Rhin* (Saint-Germain-en-Laye: Éditions Commios); Delestrée, L.P. (2004) *Nouvel atlas des monnaies gauloises: tome II, de la Seine à la Loire moyenne* (Saint-Germain-en-Laye: Éditions Commios); Delestrée, L.P. (2007) *Nouvel atlas des monnaies gauloises: tome III, la Celtique, de Jura et des Alpes à la façade atlantique* (Saint-Germain-en-Laye: Éditions Commios).

EJC = This thesis' Early Julio-Claudian period (AD 15-43).

IARCH = Iron Age and Roman Coin Hoard Project.

RIC I = Mattingly, H. & Sydenham, E.A. (1923) *Roman Imperial Coinage I. Vol.1, Augustus to Vitellius* (London: Spink & Son).

RIC I² = Sutherland, C.H.V. (1984) *The Roman Imperial Coinage. Part 1. Vol.1, from 31 BC to AD 69* (London: Spink and Son).

RIC III = Mattingly, H. & Sydenham, E.A. (1930) *Roman Imperial Coinage I. Vol.3, Antoninus Pius to Commodus* (London: Spink & Son).

RPC = Burnett, A., Amandry, M. & Ripollès, P.P. (1992) *Roman Provincial Coinage, Vol. I: From the Death of Caesar to the Death of Vitellius (44 BC - AD 69)* (London: British Museum Press).

LT = de la Tour, H. (1892) *Atlas de monnaies gauloises* (Paris: E. Plon).

Sch = Scheers, S. (1977, 2nd edn, 1983) *La Gaule Belgique: traité de numismatique celtique II*. (Louvain: Peeters).

SNG ANS = Troxell, H.A. (1994) *Sylloge nummorum graecorum: The collection of the American Numismatic Society, pt. 8. Macedonia II: Alexander I-Philip II* (The American Numismatic Society: New York).

VA = Van Arsdell, R.D. (1989) *Celtic Coinage of Britain* (London: Spink).

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Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my supervisors, Clare Rowan and Kevin Butcher, for the excellent support and guidance they have provided throughout this project (particular praise goes to Clare for putting up with all my graphs over the years). I am very grateful to Eleanor Ghey of the British Museum for all the helpful suggestions in improving this project. Praise should go to Michael Scott, Conor Trainer, Alison Cooley, Suzanne Frey-Kupper and James Davidson for providing helpful feedback on my work. I would like to thank the department of Classics and Ancient History at the University of Warwick as a whole for their continued support and great community spirit.

I am indebted to the Centre for Arts Doctoral Research Excellence team for providing the funding for this project, without which I could have never hoped to have completed it.

I am extremely grateful for the support of John Sills and the British Museum for providing access to the CCI, the British Museum coin files and the records of the Portable Antiquities Scheme. David Holman and Philip de Jersey should also be acknowledged for providing up-to-date information on the potin hoards and those on the island of Jersey respectively.

I would also like to thank my parents and all of my friends for all the support they have given. Finally, I would like to thank my Classics group, Perception Formation, for keeping my spirits up over the last three and a half years.

Declaration

This thesis is the candidate's own work. This thesis has not been submitted for a degree at another university.

Abstract

It has long been recognised that Iron Age Britain and Gaul shared cultural similarities, which had developed throughout a long history of exchange across the English Channel, beginning from early prehistory. However, while it is known that coinage was introduced to Britain through Gaul, the implications of the introduction of this shared medium in cross-Channel relations have not yet been explored.

This paper uses coin hoards to understand how close the connection was between Gaul and Britain in the late Iron Age to early Roman periods (200 BC to AD 43). The metals of the coins within these hoards are mapped, showing regional and chronological changes in what coins were hoarded. Patterns in the coin hoards are examined to determine the extent of cross-Channel influences: if it was just the medium of coinage that was introduced, or whether the connection was so great that the norms surrounding the use of coins also travelled across the Channel, and whether coin users and producers on both sides of the Channel adapted to each other over time.

To further this goal, the impact of Julius Caesar's conquest of Gaul and its aftermath is examined. The Roman presence changed coin use in Gaul, but not evenly, with eastern Gaul developing a new form of coinage, whereas coinage was driven from active use in western Gaul. This had a corresponding reaction in Britain, demonstrating that despite the change in political authorities in Gaul, a cross-Channel connection remained.

I have also identified a previously unknown pattern of coin hoards extending across the Channel, which I have termed the Silver Corridor. This pattern shows that Britain was heavily linked to developments on the continent: despite Rome not conquering Britain in the first century BC, the conquest of Britain's maritime neighbour Gaul had a major impact on British societies.

1: Introduction

“Mystery of the largest hoard of Celtic coins ever found is finally solved: First century haul worth £10MILLION was created by two tribes who may have hid it together to protect it from marauding Romans” (*Daily Mail headline*, 25.03.2019)

It is disappointing news that the so-called final conclusion regarding the deposition of the largest Iron Age coin hoard known, the Câtillon II hoard, is so similar to views that have existed since the 1950s regarding hoards found in north-west Gaul.¹ Decades of research have apparently had little impact in how Iron Age coin hoards are widely perceived. Iron Age hoards existed within a more extensive historical context than the years of Caesar’s invasion of Gaul, and it is this wider picture that this thesis explores.

While a rather banal headline, it demonstrates the public excitement that arises at the discovery of these ancient treasures. It shows both an interest in the objects recovered as well as the motives behind the individuals who deposited the hoard. However, I consider the focus on a single hoard, devoid of its significance in the wider hoarding landscape and archaeological context, to be a problem. This thesis will demonstrate in fact that the Câtillon II hoard fits into a wider pattern of hoards, which not only consists of those of the nearby mainland of Normandy and Brittany, but also extends to Britain. It is thus within this cross-Channel context that hoards need to be examined.

This thesis studies the interconnectivity of regions across the Channel through an examination of the coin hoards in southern Britain and northern Gaul. I demonstrate that the composition of hoards in terms of metal and denomination can reveal regional patterns of coins and coin hoarding. Most significantly, I show that these approaches to coin hoarding extended across the Channel, with close similarities in hoarding patterns appearing in regions opposite one another. These similarities reflect the wider cross-

¹ Colbert de Beaulieu (1952a) 231.

cultural and social links across the seaway and how these connections transformed in response to the Roman conquest and occupation of Gaul.

In every region bordering the Channel that produced Iron Age coins, there were intentional deposits of large numbers of coins. Throughout these regions, the inhabitants adopted these precious metal circular objects and there was a shared opinion that these objects were valuable in hoards. However, different regions had their own patterns in the way they hoarded coins. Certain communities favoured the deposition of gold coins, whereas others favoured silver. A number of regions were more willing to deposit coins of different denominations together, whereas others did not. It will also be demonstrated that some communities had conventions regarding hoarding, and avoided hoarding certain denominations, despite the coins being relatively common. Hoarding may have been a universal practice related to coins, but the methods of hoarding were regional. A study of coin hoards can thus identify hoarding patterns that are linked to the political, social and economic aspects of the region. Additionally, when patterns can be identified between hoards on both sides of the Channel, this can represent shared cultural aspects as well as close communication across the seaway. Coin hoards are thus useful for understanding the regional approaches to as well as the impact of external cultural influences on coinage and coin use. Despite this, only a single short study analysing Iron Age coin hoarding patterns from different regions exists and it does not consider the impact that one region may have had on another.² This thesis aims to look at coin hoarding and cultural connectivity together.

I have created a database of 451 hoards from southern Britain, northern France, Belgium and Luxembourg. A large database was necessary to properly identify trends throughout these areas, which I refer to as the “region under study”. Hoards tend to be poorly excavated and the most famous examples tend to be unrepresentative of the wider picture, so a large dataset is necessary in the study of hoards. The information I have gathered on the hoards has been made public and is accessible online.³

² Gruel & Pion (2009).

³ <https://warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/classics/research/currentpgs/swan/>.

This study concentrates on Iron Age patterns of coin hoarding from 200 BC to AD 43. This was the heyday of Iron Age coins in the west of Europe and represents the period when Roman influence and Roman coins appeared in north-west Europe for the first time. The inclusion of Roman coins in Gallic hoards and the impact of Caesar's invasion of Gaul are important focuses of this study. Incorporating such a wide date range reveals the transformation of the culture of coin use in these regions, as they were incorporated into the Roman world.

The use of Iron Age coinage in the study of archaeology and history has many benefits. It is one of the few Iron Age objects to have been produced on a large scale. The extensive iconography that appears on Iron Age coins has been used to develop much of what we know about the history of the late Iron Age (c. 150 BC to AD 50). Indeed, Iron Age coins have shaped our understanding of the political, social, economic and religious aspects of Iron Age life and even beyond, with their existence and iconography prompting discussion on the extent of Roman power in Britain and Gaul during the Augustan period.⁴

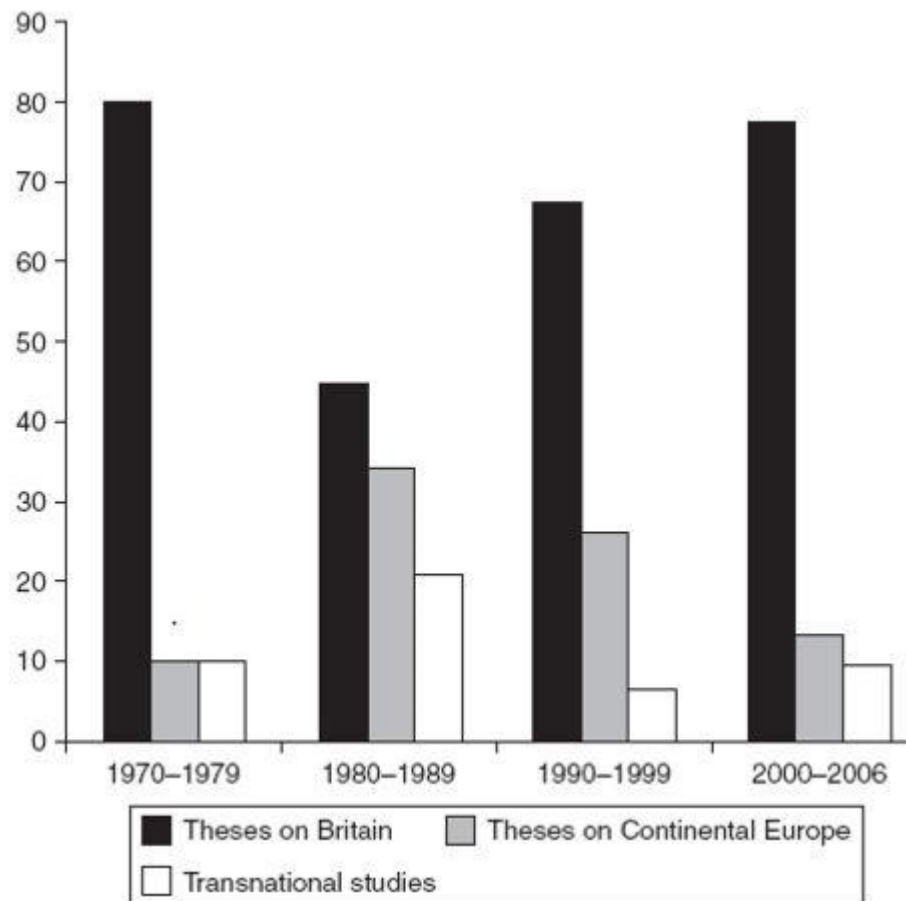
This thesis was originally conceived as a study of British Iron Age coinage alone. However, it became swiftly apparent that British Iron Age coinage was closely tied to developments in Gaul and to study either side of the Channel in isolation is to disregard a large part of the overall picture. Past researchers have commented that expanding their study of Iron Age British coinage to include data in Gaul would be the logical next step in their own work and it is this step that this thesis takes.⁵ The cross-cultural movement of new forms of material culture and particularly the concepts of how coins could be used is a major part of this thesis. The modern world is becoming increasingly isolationist, and scholars of ancient material have a duty to demonstrate the cultural links that have formed through maritime and other forms of long-distance exchange. However, the reality is that national focuses are also increasingly dominating scholarship. The number of theses studying the Iron Age that compare archaeological data across two or more separate modern nations is low, and has even gone into decline in the last few decades (Graph 1.1).⁶ It will be demonstrated that this is also the current state of Iron Age numismatics. A primary focus of this thesis is

⁴ Creighton (2000).

⁵ Leins (2012) 3-4; de Jersey (2014) 48.

⁶ Moore & Armada (2011) 35.

to demonstrate that the failure to explore material across national borders, specifically the Channel, is profoundly limiting. Cross-Channel trends can only be perceived through a joint study of the material, which demonstrates the connection between these regions.



Graph 1.1: Number of theses studying the Iron Age that examine material across nations (Moore & Armada (2011) 35, fig. 1.10)

1.1: Overview

It has long been recognised that Britain owes its adoption of coinage to Gaul, yet a study comparing hoards across the Channel has yet to be attempted.⁷ If the development of coinage was a cross-Channel phenomenon then how an individual or community interacted with coinage would surely have been influenced by cross-Channel neighbours. It is worth understanding whether British coin producers and users continued to seek inspiration from their cross-Channel neighbour, or whether they went down their own regional path. It is

⁷ Evans (1864) 47-48.

this concept that informs the use of hoards in this study. The hoards act as a controlled variable: every coin-producing region in this study had hoards of coins. Any variation, then, is a regional phenomenon, and any similarities suggest a strong cultural exchange related to coinage between the regions.

The chapters of this thesis correspond to three broad sections:

- The literature review (chapter two) demonstrates the issues in Iron Age numismatic scholarship that has led to an avoidance of studying cross-Channel developments. The methodology chapter (chapter three) explores the difficulties in using hoard data, particularly from two sides of the Channel where archaeological approaches differ, and how I overcome these difficulties.
- Chapters four and five are data-driven displays of coin hoarding on both sides (west and east) of the Channel. These chapters demonstrate the extent of the cross-Channel relationship in terms of coinage.
- Chapters six and seven are more explorative and consider the wider ramifications of the data I have presented to our understanding of Iron Age coins. In chapter six, I explore general patterns of coin hoarding revealed through the prior chapters, whereas chapter seven examines a case study of a peculiar, cross-Channel hoarding phenomenon, which I have termed the Silver Corridor.

1.2: Aims

- **To demonstrate that Iron Age coinage and coin hoarding should be understood as part of wider, cross-national trends.** Modern studies of Iron Age coinage have tended to focus on developments in Britain or Gaul, but not both. British coin development is connected to wider events occurring in Gaul, so to study Britain or Gaul in isolation removes a vital part of the archaeological picture.
- **To bridge the scholarly divide between the north and south of the Channel and the west and east of the Channel.** The focus of prior research on the Channel has been dominated by developments in the east, so integrating the two not only moves the spotlight to the rarely explored west, but also reinvigorates scholarship working on the east by providing a comparative example.
- **To explain the role of Iron Age coin hoards, and to use this understanding to learn the nature of Iron Age coin use.** The study of Iron Age coin hoards is limited, as the

primary focus of the last few decades has been on excavated sites. However, the nature of the use of coins on these sites is uncertain (see literature review for the debate and section 6.3.3). The one certain, universal use of Iron Age coins was in deposition, so emphasis should be placed on this single known function. The hoards provide information regarding how coinage was perceived in society, through showing which coins were deposited and how the coins worked alongside one another. It is probable that coins rarely found in hoards served a different role to those that were more commonly hoarded.

- **To demonstrate the differences between the hoards in terms of the metal content or region of production of their coins.** Through a range of maps, particular regions of Iron Age coin hoarding can be examined and patterns between the contents of coin hoards can be explored. Additionally, these maps are the first to include hoard data from both sides of the Channel, allowing for cross-national comparisons of hoards.
- **To understand the role of Roman imperialism in transforming the norms of these societies, in this case coin use.** The study of the transition between Gallic and Roman coinage has been widely studied, but not how this development in Gaul led to changes in Britain.⁸ The impact of Roman imperialism is demonstrated to extend to unconquered regions in close contact with the conquered territory.
- **To present the Silver Corridor, a newly discovered cross-Channel hoarding pattern, and to understand why this cross-Channel pattern may have occurred.**

1.3: Terminology

This section provides a basic overview of terms used throughout this thesis. The definition of hoards is given a thorough overview in the literature review (Section 2.2).

1.3.1: The Celts and the Iron Age

Iron Age coinage is widely known as Celtic coinage. The Celts is a term used to define the people of northern Europe, although it has fallen out of favour in scholarly circles, particularly in Britain. Caesar referred to the Celts as a group of people living in central Gaul, but the term was used more generally by Greek writers to describe the barbarians of Gaul and the Balkans, and this latter definition is the more prominent amongst modern

⁸ E.g. Martin (2015); Gruel & Popovitch (2017).

scholars.⁹ The identity of these people has been a source of debate for many scholars, neo-pagans and political groups.¹⁰ Most scholars tend to identify the ancient Celts geographically as a group of people living in north-west Europe, in addition to communities in southern Germany, the Balkans and parts of Turkey.¹¹ Some scholars suggest that they can be grouped via a shared language, whereas others consider the Celts as a cultural phenomenon.¹² In reality, few, if any, of the people who interacted with the objects discussed in this thesis would have identified themselves as Celts.¹³ The term is a generalisation, used to identify non-Greek, non-Roman, non-German and non-Iberian communities which existed from around the 7th century BC to the 1st century AD, who lived for the most part in north-western Europe, but were not confined to it.

However, the term has historical baggage, not least because modern-day communities in Brittany, Scotland, Galicia, Wales, Cornwall and Ireland identify themselves as Celts.¹⁴ The most problematic issue with the term is that it assumes a single identity. This has led to scholars cherry picking evidence from different regions across the Celtic world, even if these regions were separated and unlikely to have been in contact with one another. An example is the recent connection made between north-west Gallic coin iconography and the Druids, a famous Celtic religious body, even though there is no evidence that can definitively identify a Druid within north-west Gaul.¹⁵ While this thesis stresses the benefits of using cross-national material, the objects that today are identified as “Celtic” were the product of a range of different communities stretching across Europe and beyond: it is doubtful that these communities would have considered themselves part of the same cultural group. It is for this reason that this thesis primarily uses evidence from the region under study, without drawing evidence from the wider “Celtic” world. This means in practice that I do not give great weight to Roman and Greek texts describing southern Gallic customs in discussion of northern Gallic and southern British trends, as it cannot be determined how generalisable these descriptions were. Such texts are often used to

⁹ Caesar, *Gallic Wars*, 1.1; e.g. Herodotus, *The Persian Wars*, 2.33, 4.49; Polybius, *Histories*, 2.28.

¹⁰ Cunliffe (2003a) 116; Fowle (2015) 234-259.

¹¹ Twist (2001) 11.

¹² Sims-Williams (2012) 442; Hunter, Goldberg, Farley & Leins (2015) 31.

¹³ Hunter, Goldberg, Farley & Leins (2015) 35.

¹⁴ Dietler (1994) 584; Sims-Williams (1998).

¹⁵ Cassibry (2017) 143.

identify the function of Iron Age coins, so their exclusion has important ramifications for discussions in this thesis.¹⁶

In this thesis, the term “Iron Age inhabitants” refers to the indigenous populations of the region under study and the term “Celts” is avoided. Even so, the Iron Age itself is also a problematic term. It is part of the three-age system created by the Danish scholar Thomsen, who categorised objects in his museum based on their material.¹⁷ Thus the Stone Age, Bronze Age and Iron Age were formed as categories of study. These were adopted originally by craniologists in Britain, but this method of categorising objects and assigning them to periods was applied to archaeology through scholars such as Evans.¹⁸ The terms are misleading, as there is no swift change from bronze to iron objects that the terms might indicate. However, they reflect general periods and the term Iron Age is broadly used today as a means of describing the people of Gaul and Britain, who scholars previously identified as Celts. This thesis thus utilises the current accepted term in scholarship.

1.3.2: Staters

The majority of coins in the hoards of this study are referred to as staters and quarter staters. Staters were usually gold coins struck on large flans. The quarter staters were approximately a quarter of the weight and diameter of the stater, although it was often not an exact fraction due to the great variability of weight, particularly for the debased staters in south-west Britain and north-west Gaul (Chapter 4).¹⁹ These denominational terms are modern scholarly inventions, but throughout the staters of the region under study there are great similarities, such as the decision to use a broad flan, the conservative approach to iconography and (at least for the earliest coins) the gold metal. The term thus accurately defines this style of denomination. However, the terminology assumes that staters were the standard of value: it may be that the staters could have been perceived as multiples of the smaller coin by their Iron Age users. The iconography of the staters and quarter staters of the same series tended to be similar, suggesting that they were designed for use

¹⁶ Roymans (1990) 132; Goudineau (1999) 332-335; Wigg-Wolf (2017) 23.

¹⁷ Thomsen (1836).

¹⁸ Lubbock (1865); Evans (1872); (1881); Morse (1999).

¹⁹ E.g. Colbert de Beaulieu (1955a) 154.

alongside one another, though it remains unclear whether which, if either, was considered the standard of value.

The prototype of the first staters of the region under study was the Philip II of Macedon stater, a gold coin bearing a laureate head of Apollo on the obverse and a charioteer in a two-horse chariot on the reverse (Fig 1.1).²⁰ Most Iron Age staters trace their iconography, as well as their gold content and large diameter, back to this coin. The first coins in Gaul were close imitations of these coins, but over time, increased regionalisation led to variations of the design.²¹ There were staters in north-east Gaul which drew inspiration from Tarentum gold staters, but as the Gallic series progressed, these coins too were influenced by the Philip II staters.²² The most accepted view is that Philip II staters arrived in Gaul via Gallic mercenaries serving in Hellenistic armies.²³ These coins came to be widely used within Gallic societies, but once Rome had conquered the Hellenistic states, mercenary service and the associated coin payments declined, so Gauls had to produce their own coins.²⁴



Fig 1.1: Philip II, gold stater, Pella, SNG ANS 125 Vol 8, c. 345-310 BC, 8.59g, diameter not recorded, 1 o'clock. Obv. Laureate head of Apollo, r. Rev. ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ, charioteer in biga, r. British Museum, 1911,0208.2

Throughout the thesis, staters are referred to by their predominant metal content, i.e. gold, silver and bronze staters. This is somewhat inaccurate: the staters consisted of a mix of different metals, to such an extent that many of the “gold” staters only comprised 40% gold.²⁵ The terminology in this thesis follows current convention that refers to the appearance of the coin, i.e. the colour of the metal. Many of the original sources of Armorican coin hoards refer to “billon” coins rather than describing them as silver or

²⁰ Evans (1864) 24.

²¹ Scheers (1977) 27; Sills (2003) 106; Pion (2012).

²² Scheers (1977) 27; Sills (2003) 97.

²³ Nash (1987) 48; Sills (2003) 97-98; Pion (2012) 152.

²⁴ Nash (1987) 48.

²⁵ Northover (1992).

copper. As a result, the Armorican coins in this study are referred to as billon, which in practice defines coins consisting of 50-10% or lower silver.²⁶

1.4: The Channel

The regions bordering the Channel form an effective sample to test how communication between communities transforms the understanding of coinage. This is due to the circumstances of the Channel: it acts as a barrier, but a crossable one. This section describes the historical and geographical contexts of the region under study.

The 4th century AD writer Avienus in his *Ora Maritima* recorded the travel from Brittany to Ireland as taking two days.²⁷ This would have involved a stop off point in Britain, and a daylight crossing at five knots to Dorset from Brittany could be undertaken in sight of land for the majority of the voyage.²⁸ Nor would this have been the ideal crossing point: the Dover straits served as the shortest route from Britain to Gaul.²⁹ It was therefore possible to cross the Channel within a reasonable space of time. In the modern period, which in terms of weather patterns is not so dissimilar to conditions in the Iron Age, the possibility of a fair wind from Dover to Belgic Gaul can be predicted as 67-68%, and the best winds for going south across the Channel were during spring and autumn.³⁰ However, a good wind from one direction meant a poor wind from the other, meaning sailors would have to wait before a return voyage, in addition to the time lost in waiting out storms.³¹ Crossing the Channel was possible, but certain times were more viable than others, so any travel across had to be planned. It was not nearly as simple as river or land movement, thus the Channel served as both bridge and barrier.

All maritime movements have their dangers and crossing open waters particularly so. The Channel is subject to strong tidal streams and gales, and although there are only a few ancient wrecks known in the Channel, this may be the result of the conditions of loose sand

²⁶ Northover (1992) 279-280.

²⁷ Avienus, *Ora Maritima*, 687-691.

²⁸ Davis (1997) 133.

²⁹ McGrail (1993) 200.

³⁰ Davis (1997) 131; McGrail (1997) 267, 285.

³¹ Davis (1997) 131.

obscuring shipwrecks and preventing their discovery.³² There are exceptions, such as the wreck of the 3rd century AD Gallo-Roman trading ship near the island of Guernsey in the Channel, demonstrating the potential dangers of cross-Channel movements.³³ Although there are no example of wrecks dating to the Iron Age or early Roman period, there are a number of Bronze Age finds of metalwork within the Channel.³⁴ Dressel 1 amphorae, Armorican and Durotrigic (south-west British) pottery have also been found offshore of the port of Yarmouth on the Isle of Wight.³⁵ These may be representative of wrecks, although it has been suggested that they could represent ritual deposits, for travel was dangerous and there may have been a desire for otherworldly protection.³⁶ As a result it is difficult to judge the true extent of the threats to cross-Channel movements, but there was definitely an element of danger. Additionally, temperatures would have been cold, even in the summer, so any crossing would have been uncomfortable and would have required justification.³⁷

Crossing points would have been limited, with the high cliffs of east Kent and the rocky seaways on the western half of the Channel limiting landing sites.³⁸ Ports and enclosed harbours would have been important. The details of these locations and the archaeological evidence of trade are present within the appropriate chapters discussing each side of the Channel, but it must be noted that the limitations of the sites meant certain locations were more exposed to cross-Channel influences than others. It is probable that sailors would have aimed for the nearest port or used the Channel Islands, such as Guernsey or the Isle of Wight, as stop-off points to limit their time spent in open waters.³⁹ Additionally, movements going across the Channel from east to west and vice-versa would have involved long voyages hugging the mainland. The limited availability of landing sites was a limiting factor on cross-cultural exchange and perhaps explains (the later defined) difference in coinage styles between the east and west of the Channel.

³² Muckelroy (1980a) 62.

³³ Rule & Monaghan (1993).

³⁴ McGrail (1997) 189; Samson (2006) 379

³⁵ Trott & Tomalin (2003) 160.

³⁶ Chapman & Geary (2004) 457; Samson (2006) 380.

³⁷ McGrail (1997) 270.

³⁸ Wilkes (2004) 114; Morris (2010) 7.

³⁹ Cunliffe (1984a) 28; (2001) 402.

The complications involved in crossing the Channel would limit the influence of cultural exchange. As cross-Channel movements would have been intermittent, Gaul and Britain would not have received the same exposure to cultural ideas. This would lead to the formation of separate identities witnessed in Caesar's separate descriptions of the customs of the Gauls and the Britons, suggesting that they had their own unique cultures.⁴⁰ Indeed, Caesar's account divided Gaul into three parts by rivers, each with their own separate identity, so even rivers can influence the formation of identity, let alone a waterway the size of the Channel.⁴¹ This can also be witnessed anthropologically: in New Guinea natural borders separated communities, and each community identified others by nearby natural features, such as the mountain people or the river people.⁴² Natural barriers thus serve as limiting factors in cultural exchange.

One can thus use the Channel to examine the cross-cultural influence of coinage. The Channel allows the transmission of cross-cultural ideas, culture and attitudes, but this access is intermittent. Therefore, one would expect to see a divide in the hoarding traditions on both the Gallic and British sides of the Channel, but certain shared cross-Channel patterns might occur, demonstrating that cross-Channel links were important.

The history of cross-Channel travel only began in earnest during the second millennium BC. Earlier boats were only capable of river travel, and there may have been no particular need for outside goods that would have inspired further efforts.⁴³ However, when bronze came into greater usage, there was an increased need for maritime routes to transport the copper and tin for the alloy from their disparate locations, hence boats capable of sea travel were required.⁴⁴ Therefore, from the second millennium BC cross-Channel trade can be recognised in the movement of goods.⁴⁵ There appears to have been a brief decline in such movement during the early Iron Age, but by the late Iron Age (the period of this study) there seems to have been notable movements of goods crossing the Channel (4.4, 5.3).⁴⁶

⁴⁰ Caesar, *Gallic Wars*, 5.12-5.14, 6.11-6.28. Strabo in his *Geography* also examined their customs separately, though this is based on the separation of his work into regions.

⁴¹ Caesar, *Gallic Wars*, 1.1.

⁴² Diamond (2012) 39.

⁴³ Muckelroy (1980a) 62.

⁴⁴ Muckelroy (1980a) 62; Cunliffe (2001) 227.

⁴⁵ Cunliffe (2001) 261-297; Samson (2006).

⁴⁶ Muckelroy (1980b) 66.

The extent of coin movements across the Channel was not overwhelming. The number of coins crossing the Channel (with the exception of the Gallo-Belgic series that were produced on both sides) can be numbered in the 500-1000 range.⁴⁷ While a notable amount, the coins are widely distributed, so most regions would not have had frequent access to “foreign” coins, but they would have had some access. Additionally, cross-Channel patterns can come about not only due to movements in coinage, but in comparable cultural, political, societal and economic structures between regions that developed through cross-Channel exchange. Similarities in coin use are unlikely to have been an isolated phenomenon, and pre-existing connections across the Channel likely encouraged similar societal structures or cultural understandings (for instance, similar funerary preparations) of which coinage was but one. Many of these other, shared cross-Channel ties may no longer be visible archaeologically, thus coinage can be used as a demonstration of these wider patterns. Despite this, the examination of coinage as a cross-Channel phenomenon has never featured prominently in previous studies. This is a result of developments at the beginning of the scholarship of Iron Age coins and these are elaborated on in the next chapter.

⁴⁷ de Jersey (1997) 96-101; (1999) 189; (2006) 117; Morris (2010) 157-162.

2: Literature Review

An overview of the study of Iron Age coins begins the chapter, followed by an overview of the study of Iron Age hoarding.

2.1: The Study of Iron Age Coins

Studies of Iron Age coinage in north-west Europe have undergone parallel developments across Britain and France: researchers of Iron Age coinage in Britain and Gaul were often exposed to the same ideas and remained aware of each others' work. The developments can be divided into several overlapping stages, with each stage tackling a particular issue related to the material. These stages are discussed in detail in this chapter, but in summary, these stages of development can be broadly represented as the following:

- 19th-early 20th Century: the first major studies of Iron Age coinage.
- Mid-20th Century: the classification of coinage, with significant attempts to attribute issues to historical events.
- Late 20th Century: greater emphasis on the archaeological contexts of coins and as a result, suggestions on the votive and social roles of Iron Age coins.
- 21st Century: in-depth studies of specific regions which produced Iron Age coins, and in Britain, major studies covering Iron Age coin use throughout the country.

These stages reflect the change in approach from viewing Iron Age coinage in numismatic terms (i.e. as coinage) to archaeological terms (as a piece of Iron Age material culture).

Until the late 1970s, this chapter considers the study of British and Gallic Iron Age coinage as a whole, but once more regional studies come into existence in the late 1970s, the focus will be on the scholarship working on northern Gaul and southern Britain; the region of study for this thesis.

2.1.1: The 19th - Early 20th Century

The existence of Iron Age coins had been recognised prior to the 19th century, but it was not until this time that accurate documentation and classification began in earnest.¹ There were some attempts at the beginning of the 19th century to match the coins to certain regions, but it was only with the works of Evans and Hermand that Iron Age coins gained their deserved recognition.² After a number of articles, Evans published his seminal *Coins of the Ancient Britons* book. He identified the coins and established the dating of British uninscribed coins to before Caesar's Gallic Wars and the inscribed coins to its aftermath.³ This dating remains accurate even by today's standards.

Evans was particularly dedicated to presenting the study of Iron Age coinage as a scientific field: for instance, he voiced concern that classifying uninscribed coins by their metal may be deemed unscientific, as it assumes common features across a diverse range of coins.⁴ The scientific method of classification, made famous in the aftermath of Darwin's *Origin of Species*, resulted in humanities fields increasingly adopting this new framework.⁵ Evans directly compared his work on the development of Iron Age coinage with Darwin's theory of evolution, deeming the coins to have a common ancestor.⁶ Traces of this ancestor remained throughout all the later series, yet each series evolved differently depending on regional circumstances.⁷ This presentation of Iron Age numismatics as a scientific discipline developed across the Channel, as Lambert and Hermand presented well-documented finds of coins in north-east Gaul, and provided classification schemes.⁸

These early works would lead to the creation of two long-lasting conventions: the assumption that Iron Age coins were used as money, and the tendency to study British and Gallic coins separately. Evans believed that the Gauls would have gained knowledge of

¹ See Camden (1586); Pettingal (1763); Stukeley (1770); Combe (1814).

² de Legoy (1826); Akerman (1846); Evans (1864); Hermand (1864).

³ Evans (1864).

⁴ Evans (1864) 33; de Jersey (2008) 168. I too take issue with this (Chapter 6).

⁵ Sherratt (2002) 151; Leins (2012) 19. In the immediate years after publishing his *Origin of Species*, Darwin's theory was influential in other fields, such as psychology (see Plotkin (2004)), and sociology (see Degler (1991)).

⁶ Evans (1875) 481-482.

⁷ Evans (1875) 481-482.

⁸ Lambert (1844); (1864); Hermand (1864); (1865).

money from their trading relationships with Massalia and then Carthage, and this conception of coin use would have also spread to Britain via Gallic traders.⁹ Furthermore, Evans noted the references of ancient texts to Britons paying the Romans tribute, and he assumed that this would be in a monetary sense, implying that the Britons had a prior knowledge of money in order to understand the Roman request.¹⁰ Additionally, the Iron Age as an academic discipline had yet to evolve at the time of Evans' writing, and with no social or cultural context surrounding the coins, their specific function within Iron Age society could not be posited, but there was an exception.¹¹ The Iron Age religious body known as the Druids had attracted interest from 17th and 18th century authors, who were fascinated by their peculiar customs as described by Caesar, and their otherwise esoteric nature added an air of mystery.¹² This provided one of the few points of reference to Britain's "Celtic" past, culminating in Davies in the early 19th century suggesting that Iron Age coins were not used as money but as votive offerings used by Druids during festivals.¹³ This theory occurred long before late 20th century scholarship developed their own theories on the religious use of Iron Age coins based on archaeological contexts, which prompts the question as to how much this development was based on evidence or on assumptions as to the religious nature of Iron Age society. In any case, Evans was not impressed by this idea, regarding it as "wild speculation" and thus maintained his belief in the monetary role of Iron Age coins.¹⁴ As the seminal work, it took time before this theory was reconsidered.

The separation of studies of Gallic and British coinage is the result of the authors' locations and the rise of national heritage. British and French numismatists had access to one another's work and often referenced coins outside their nations.¹⁵ However, their accounts most commonly focused on the coins from their own nation, with little consideration of cultural interplay. This was related to the expansion of national heritage, with nations trying to understand their ancient roots, most famously seen in the excavations of Alesia, the site of the greatest battle of the Gallic Wars, under the prompting of Emperor Napoleon III.¹⁶ Both Evans and Lambert described their interest to study "our" antiquities,

⁹ Evans (1864) 23.

¹⁰ Caesar, *Gallic Wars*, 5.22; Tacitus, *Agricola*, 12; Evans (1864) 20.

¹¹ de Jersey (2008) 168.

¹² Caesar, *Gallic Wars*, 6.13-6.14; Aubrey (c. 1663-1693); Stukeley (1770).

¹³ Davies (1804); (1809).

¹⁴ Evans (1864) 11.

¹⁵ E.g. Evans (1864) 15; de la Tour (1892) plate XLI-XLV.

¹⁶ Moore & Armada (2011) 21.

demonstrating that they saw the coins as precursors to modern British and French society.¹⁷ Only after the devastating impact of nationalism in World War II did international archaeology become the preferred format and the study of British and Gallic material together became more prevalent.¹⁸

Blanchet's *Traité* built upon Hermand's work, establishing classifications for a wider array of Gallic coins, including assembling a catalogue of coin hoards from Gaul.¹⁹ The catalogue was utilised as a means of assisting the classification and dating of the coins, rather than to understand the purpose of hoarding; a similar approach to many 20th century publications.²⁰ Type numbers were also assigned to coins during this time, most notably in de la Tour's illustrations of a selection of coins from the Bibliothèque Nationale.²¹ His work included Iron Age coins of Britain, Gaul and Eastern Europe, creating a supra-national resource not witnessed today, though this is mainly related to the far greater number of known Iron Age coin types that have since been discovered, preventing a single volume from covering the entirety of the corpus. De la Tour's book remains in use as a reference work among academics and online databases, but Delestrée's more recent catalogue is increasingly replacing it.²²

There was now a foundation for the study of British and Gallic coinage, with catalogues and attributions of coins to certain geographic areas. However, the attributions of coins to regions led to their association with the Iron Age tribes supposedly located in those regions. These tribal associations were determined through mapping distribution patterns to the tribal boundaries designated by ancient texts, such as Caesar's *Gallic Wars* or Ptolemy's *Geography*. The designation of coins to certain political authorities has been influential outside of numismatics, with whole prehistoric political histories written concerning the rise and fall of Iron Age dynasties, based upon the coin images and legends related to certain tribes or rulers.²³ However, the tribal boundaries themselves are far

¹⁷ Evans (1864) 1; Lambert (1864) 1.

¹⁸ Kristiansen (2008) 9.

¹⁹ Blanchet (1900); (1905).

²⁰ Scheers (1977); de Jersey (1994).

²¹ de la Tour (1892).

²² Scheers (1977); de Jersey (1994); (2014); Delestrée & Tache (2002); Delestrée (2004); Delestrée (2007); Coin Hoards of the Roman Empire Online.

²³ Frere (1967) 28-29; Woods (2014) 6.

vaguer in the historical accounts than many scholars acknowledge.²⁴ Additionally, the identification of tribal boundaries by an ancient writer who was not a Briton or Gaul lacks the indigenous understanding of their politics, and assumes Iron Age political entities defined their territory by land, as opposed to places or agreements between people. Nevertheless, this method of categorising coins continued throughout the 20th century and it was only strongly questioned in 21st century Britain (2.1.4).

2.1.2: Mid-20th Century

Despite earlier extensive studies on the subject, it was not until the middle of the 20th century that Iron Age coinage was again studied in detail. By the middle of the 20th century the academic discipline of Iron Age archaeology had formed.²⁵ This increased the number and visibility of Iron Age coin finds and new theories related to Iron Age society and history were now available beyond the extracts from the classical sources. However, the textual record still held prominence.

An example of this interplay between archaeology and the historical record can be seen in Colbert de Beaulieu's work. Colbert de Beaulieu worked extensively on Gallic coinage, culminating in his *Traité*, where he classified and sequenced iconographic patterns, along with other aspects such as metallurgical changes.²⁶ He created a chronological sequence of Iron Age coinage, based on a certain reading of the textual evidence, known as the Arverni hegemony theory.²⁷ This theory was developed by Jullian, an influential historian in France at this time, who identified the existence of an Iron Age empire in Gaul.²⁸ Jullian based this conclusion on Strabo's description that the Arverni tribe had ruled a territory extending from Narbo Martius to the Rhine prior to the Roman annexation of the region.²⁹ Jullian linked this passage with Livy's account of Carthaginian negotiations with tribes controlling the Alps: Hannibal conversed with the Volcae in 218 BC, whereas his brother Hasdrubal spoke with the Arverni in 207 BC.³⁰ Jullian hypothesised that this represented a change in political circumstances, with the Arverni hegemony beginning with the supposed expulsion

²⁴ Russell (2010) 20; Leins (2012) 40.

²⁵ E.g. Smith (1925); Reinecke (1965).

²⁶ Colbert de Beaulieu (1973).

²⁷ Colbert de Beaulieu (1973) 173.

²⁸ Jullian (1924) 546-547.

²⁹ Strabo, *Geography*, 4.2.3.

³⁰ Livy, *History of Rome*, 21.26, 27.39.

of the Volcae in 207 BC and ending in 121 BC, the time of the founding of the Roman *colonia* of Narbo Martius in the region thought to have been previously controlled by the Arverni.

Colbert de Beaulieu linked the iconography of the wreath and horse, carried on Iron Age coins from across Gaul in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC, to the presence of this apparent political power.³¹ Noticing the coins of north-west France differed significantly to the coins found across Gaul, he suggested the rise of the Veneti tribe in western Gaul (the most prominent tribe in the region according to Caesar), which he theorised must have gained power after the end of Arverni rule in 121 BC.³² The Arverni hegemony theory, while now discredited due to a lack of supporting archaeological evidence, still has an influence on studies of Iron Age coins owing to its use by Colbert de Beaulieu. The supposed end of the Arverni hegemony and the emergence of the Veneti in 121 BC coincides with the current predicted beginnings of coinage in north-west Gaul.³³ Without any strong evidence to date these coins, the original dating based upon the hegemony theory continues to be used today, despite the theory that it is based upon being discredited.³⁴

While Colbert de Beaulieu is most famous for his extensive discussion of the development of Gallic coins, it is his in-depth recording of the contents and coin weights of coin hoards in north-west France, and the interpretations of their purpose, that has had the most impact on this thesis.³⁵ With the exception of the island of Jersey and a few recently discovered mainland hoards, little other research has been carried out on hoards from north-west France.³⁶

In Britain, Allen created a system for classifying and sequencing the coins shared by south-east Britain and north-east Gaul, known as the Gallo-Belgic series.³⁷ Allen divided the

³¹ Colbert de Beaulieu (1973) 173.

³² Caesar, *Gallic Wars*, 3.8; Colbert de Beaulieu (1973) 186.

³³ Delestrée (2016a) 74.

³⁴ Abollivier (2008) 265, table 39.

³⁵ Colbert de Beaulieu (1952-1963).

³⁶ Nieto-Pelletier, Gratuze & Aubin (2011); Nieto-Pelletier, Aubry & Menez (2014); Waterhouse (2014).

³⁷ Notably Allen (1944); (1960).

British coins into separate kingdoms and tribes, further encouraging the use of this model in British numismatics. This was influenced by the development of processual archaeology in Britain. Previously, changes in material culture were associated with specific events often found within the historical record. Caesar described the British coast as dominated by migrants and invaders from Belgic Gaul (north-east France and Belgium).³⁸ As one of the few references to Iron Age history, it was seized upon by early 20th century British archaeologists, who suggested that Belgic migrants were responsible for the appearance of graves containing Gallic ceramics at Welwyn and elsewhere in 2nd/1st century BC Britain.³⁹ A major example is Hawkes' model of studying Iron Age society, known as ABC (not to be confused with the abbreviation for Rudd's catalogue of ancient coins). The model conceives British Iron Age society as shaped by waves of Gallic migrations to and invasions of Britain.⁴⁰ This model failed to reflect transitions that Iron Age archaeology revealed during the mid-20th century, so the focus of Iron Age archaeological studies turned to the internal development of regional groups. The Iron Age tribes/Roman *civitas* described by classical authors served as useful group designations, and Allen followed this pattern, although he avoided attaching tribal names to the earliest coins in Britain (Gallo-Belgic coins), as he noted that they had no clear regional distribution.⁴¹

However, while Iron Age archaeology had become more extensive, Iron Age coin find spots remained rare. Without access to archaeological contexts, at times Allen was forced to rely upon ancient texts. Previously, the numismatist Brooke attributed the earliest coins in Britain, the Gallo-Belgic series, to the Belgic migration.⁴² Allen was heavily influenced by Brooke and promoted Brooke's theories in his work.⁴³ This was also associated with the tribal model of Iron Age coins that had been established: if coinage was linked to a people and could define tribal boundaries, then the mass movement of coins would surely represent an extension of said boundaries. While a discredited theory, it gave priority to the importance of cross-Channel connections in the development of Iron Age coinage, which this thesis wishes to encourage in current scholarship.

³⁸ Caesar, *Gallic Wars*, 5.12.

³⁹ Evans (1890b); Bushe-Fox (1925); Hawkes & Dunning (1931).

⁴⁰ Hawkes (1931).

⁴¹ Allen (1960) 127.

⁴² Brooke (1933) 98.

⁴³ Allen (1960) 98; de Jersey (2008) 167.

Allen recognised a system separate from Ptolemy's *civitas* identification, however, identifying two Iron Age royal dynasties north and south of the Thames, known as the eastern and southern kingdom respectively.⁴⁴ While this is a modern conception of a mostly unknown political situation, it was an attempt to create an identification scheme that looked at the objects and their distribution first before assigning them identities, rather than forcing coin distribution patterns into classical narratives. The terms eastern and southern kingdom have remained in common use, and the sequences Allen suggested have mostly stood the test of time, although the exact dating and attribution of the coins has changed (notably the earliest British coins were dated increasingly earlier).⁴⁵ Allen was also part of the team who created the Celtic Coin Index in 1961, which recorded finds of Iron Age coins throughout Britain. It remains in use as the most comprehensive source of British Iron Age coin finds and work is under way to digitise the records.

2.1.3: Late 20th Century

In the late 20th century, Iron Age coins were increasingly seen in archaeological rather than numismatic terms, transforming their narrative. Scheers built upon Colbert de Beaulieu's work, using detailed distribution maps of Iron Age coins to create an extensive classification system for the coins in north-east Gaul.⁴⁶ This allowed the coins to be better attributed to certain regions. Scheers hinged her dating around the Gallic Wars, following Colbert de Beaulieu before her, placing her coins before, during or after the invasion. As one of the major recorded dates in Iron Age Britain and Gaul, the Gallic Wars has been utilised throughout Iron Age coinage studies to explain changes in patterns of coinage and hoarding. This trust in Caesar's account led to there being little criticism of the tribal designations he laid out, and Scheers continued to attribute coins to tribes.

A marked change from earlier scholarship was the questioning of the monetary role of Iron Age coins; a result of developments in economic theory. Previously, discussions of the ancient economy focused on Greece and Rome (and still do). This work made little impression on Iron Age studies; the modernist viewpoint that dominated studies of the ancient economy in the 1900s, which perceived the ancient economy as defined by large-

⁴⁴ Allen (1944).

⁴⁵ Haselgrove (1995); (2005); Sills (2003).

⁴⁶ Scheers (1977).

scale city economies not that different to that of the early modern period, did not seem to fit an Iron Age society with no large cities.⁴⁷ However, it was in the 1950s and 60s that the study of the ancient economy became seemingly relevant to the Iron Age. Polanyi's anthropological studies developed the substantivist argument that in certain societies the economy, rather than a separate institution, was embedded in social relationships.⁴⁸ In such societies, transactions occurred to increase social standing, rather than for a profit. Polanyi's discussion did not require large cities and could be generalised beyond the Greeks and Romans; therefore, it became of interest to Iron Age numismatists (detailed below). There would be developments of Polanyi's ideas, with Finley critiquing but ultimately adapting the model and promoting it among ancient historians in the 1980s and 1990s.⁴⁹ It would also come under attack: Hopkins turned to statistical models to show *per capita* economic growth throughout the Roman period, suggesting elements of a sophisticated economic use of coins existed, even if this was imposed on rural communities by Roman elites.⁵⁰ This is itself debated, but these latter developments focused on the Mediterranean world and could not easily be incorporated into an Iron Age world with no inscriptions, text or papyrus evidence to provide any details on population or the economy.⁵¹ Hence Polanyi's work was more easily adopted.

Polanyi's influence on Iron Age coins began in the 1970s. This was instigated by Collis who sought to understand the purpose of Iron Age coins within society. Collis was not a numismatist, but an archaeologist, and thus was more interested in the purpose of objects rather than the development of iconographic or denominational styles. He suggested that gold and bronze coinage in Britain served monetary roles, but owing to the greater proportion of bronze coins on site, he suggested that gold served the aristocracy whereas bronze had more regular, local market usage.⁵² Collis suggested that coins served a purely economic purpose, and this was opposed by Hodder and Haselgrove, who, citing Polanyi, saw the bronze coinage (and Iron Age coinage in general) serving in only a few transactions, such as gifts or tribute.⁵³ These articles converted Collis, and resulted in numismatists

⁴⁷ Marshall (1890) 9; Morris, Saller & Scheidel (2007) 2; Hill (2012) 250.

⁴⁸ Polanyi (1957a); Launaro (2016) 233.

⁴⁹ Finley (1973).

⁵⁰ E.g. Hopkins (1980).

⁵¹ E.g. Silver (2008).

⁵² Collis (1971) 77, 79.

⁵³ Haselgrove (1979) 206; Hodder (1979) 191. Haselgrove did suggest that towards the end of the potin period (60s BC), potins may have served a more widespread monetary role.

viewing Iron Age coinage as not serving a broad monetary role envisioned by Evans.⁵⁴ Indeed, Iron Age coins were seen as “special purpose money”, using Polanyi’s terminology; a form of money that served one or some of the roles of money (wealth storage, standard of value, unit of account, medium of exchange), but not all of them.⁵⁵ This theory has great longevity, and the application of the term “special purpose money” to Iron Age coins continues in recent works.⁵⁶

With the function of Iron Age coinage now under debate, it became pressing to find the context of coin use in Iron Age society. This necessitated increased exploitation of the archaeological record. Haselgrove used stratigraphy and archaeological contexts both to re-date and redefine the role of Iron Age coins.⁵⁷ This led to some radical changes in the dating: for instance, Haselgrove dated the cast potins to the 2nd century BC, which had previously been dated to the immediate aftermath of Caesar’s invasion.⁵⁸ However, accurate dating remained difficult, as most Iron Age coins have limited iconographic or contextual information concerning their date. Despite this, Van Arsdell produced a catalogue of Iron Age British coins in 1989, which, while a useful resource for collectors, has left numismatists sceptical at his apparently precise dating of coins.⁵⁹ Van Arsdell dated coins to a particular decade or even five-year period, which was an attempt to provide some order to increase the work’s attractiveness outside of academia. This presented an objective measure of dating Iron Age coins that the current state of the evidence does not justify.

Haselgrove focused primarily on Belgic Gaul, following on from Scheers before him, and south-east Britain. The regions on the western side of the Channel have not received the same attention, though some major studies exist. In her work on the Trébry hoard in north-west Gaul and the hoards on the island of Jersey, Gruel attempted to establish a distinction between early and later hoards that predominantly contained coins attributed to the Coriosolitae tribe, the most common Iron Age coins in north-west France.⁶⁰ Hoards

⁵⁴ Collis (1974).

⁵⁵ Polanyi (1957b) 178; Haselgrove (1979) 205.

⁵⁶ Wigg-Wolf (2018) 139.

⁵⁷ Haselgrove (1993); (1999).

⁵⁸ Guichard, Pion, Malacher & Collis (1993) 30-31; Haselgrove (1995) 124.

⁵⁹ Van Arsdell (1989a); Kent (1990) 266; Leins (2012) 24.

⁶⁰ Gruel (1981); (1986); (1990).

terminating in early Coriosolitae types, Gruel argued, were deposited earlier in the Gallic Wars than those with later coin types, a theory maintained today.⁶¹ de Jersey also produced a major work studying Iron Age Armorican coins. Similar to Scheer's work on Belgic Gaul coins, de Jersey examined the regional distribution and the weight of coin types to clarify their tribe of origin and assist in their sequencing.⁶² No major works on the coins of south-west Britain exist, with the exception of Mays' thesis, which identified their transformation from a gold issue to an increasingly debased coinage.⁶³ Mays has been involved in working alongside archaeologists studying the south-west British material, so her work has had influence within archaeology, but as yet no other major studies exist, though a die study by Talbot of the coins is currently underway.⁶⁴

The limited focus on the coinage of north-west France and south-west Britain is due to specific aspects of the coinage found there. Employing a context-driven study as undertaken by Haselgrove for the eastern Iron Age coinage is difficult in the western Channel, as most of the coins are found in hoards and there are few site finds.⁶⁵ With few site contexts, it is difficult to identify the function of these coins and the homogenous nature of their iconography does not, on the surface, make them an appealing area of study. Therefore, most of the conclusions made regarding Iron Age coinage tend not to utilise data from the west of the Channel.⁶⁶

Nash connected the introduction of coinage in Gaul to returning Gallic mercenaries who had been paid in the coinage of Philip II of Macedon whilst in service to Hellenistic armies.⁶⁷ This theory continues to be widely held as the cause for early coin development in Gaul.⁶⁸ Her work also covered settlement changes in central Gaul, notably the development of *oppida* (essentially pseudo-towns, see sections 4.2, 5.1) in the 2nd century BC. These

⁶¹ de Jersey (2016).

⁶² de Jersey (1994).

⁶³ Mays (1984).

⁶⁴ Haselgrove & Mays (2000).

⁶⁵ de Jersey (1994) 99; Gruel, Batt, Clément, Fichet de Clairefon-Taine, Galliou, Hyvert, Langouët & le Bihan (1990) 63; Haselgrove & Mays (2000) 249, fig 125.

⁶⁶ E.g. Delestrée (2005); Wellington (2005a); Holman (2005b); Van Heesch (2005); Fanello (2016).

⁶⁷ Nash (1987) 14.

⁶⁸ de Jersey (1994) 40; Sills (2003) 106; Pion (2012) 152; Howgego (2013) 29.

changes coincided with the adoption of coinage on a wide scale, therefore Nash linked the development of coinage in Gaul to other developments in the Iron Age world.⁶⁹

With the monetary role of Iron Age coins questioned in the late 1970s, there was increased focus on their potential votive role. It was increasingly noted that finds of Iron Age coinage occurred on temple as well as other potential votive sites, such as springs, rivers and hilltops.⁷⁰ The “Iron Age Coins and Ritual Practices” conference in 2000 strengthened this position, where coins were linked to a wider, non-monetary role (see 6.3).⁷¹ The notion of the non-monetary role of Iron Age coins remains significant going into the 21st century.

2.1.4: 21st Century

So far, 21st century research has further developed ideas expressed throughout the late 20th century. Iron Age coins no longer have an assumed monetary role, so the intentions of their creators are questioned. Roman and Greek subject matter, such as classical mythological animals, appeared on Iron Age coinage in Britain after the Gallic Wars, and Creighton was the first to convincingly link this change to the wider transformations occurring in the Roman world.⁷² Allen previously interpreted these images as Britons using Roman images to express British culture, but Creighton suggested that the iconography was the result of British Iron Age kings growing up in Rome among the sons of other client kings.⁷³ In Rome they were exposed to Augustan material culture and upon their return to Britain they wished to replicate it. This theory has been well received among Iron Age archaeologists, but the theory remains subjective, which is a cause for concern among established Iron Age numismatists.⁷⁴ Creighton does not consider developments in contemporary Gallic coinage in any great depth, which I believe is an oversight (5.7.3).

The relationship between coins and the elite has also been explored on the continent. Nick identified die-links between the widely distributed Iron Age gold coinage of the 2nd and

⁶⁹ Nash (1978).

⁷⁰ Delestrée (1984a); Haselgrove (2005) 146.

⁷¹ Example contributors: Curteis (2005); de Jersey (2005a); Delestrée (2005); Fitzpatrick (2005); Hingley (2005); Holman (2005b); Van Heesch (2005); Wellington (2005b).

⁷² Creighton (2000).

⁷³ Allen (1958); Creighton (2000).

⁷⁴ Hobbs (2001) 367-368; Ray (2002) 578; Gosden (2004) 108; de Jersey (2005b) 122.

early 1st centuries BC in central Europe, and suggested that this meant early gold coinage served an important role in establishing long- and short-distance relationships amongst the elites.⁷⁵ Wigg-Wolf has developed this viewpoint to include other trends in Iron Age coinage, such as the placement of legends on coins in the aftermath of the Gallic war, suggesting that both before and after the war elite expression was an important function of Iron Age coins.⁷⁶

Sills is perhaps one of the few scholars to consider coinage as a cross-Channel phenomenon. He worked on gold coinage across the Channel, analysing their typology and comparing their distribution.⁷⁷ His work demonstrated that Britons were producing insular versions of Gallic designs from the 2nd century BC, emphasising that Britons were closely following the coinage developments in Belgic Gaul from an early period. This has been confirmed through later finds: Iron Age numismatics have benefitted from the improved recording of coin finds throughout the 20th century, and the 21st century has provided online resources to improve the accessibility of the records. The Portable Antiquities Scheme, a British online database where the finds of metal-detectorists and archaeologists are recorded, has encouraged new discoveries. One such discovery is a Gallo-Belgic A coin die; one of the first coins of Belgic Gaul and previously thought to have only been an export to Britain.⁷⁸ The die indicates production of this coin series occurred in Britain, and current estimates date the Gallo-Belgic A type to the early 2nd century BC, implying coin production began in Britain a hundred years earlier than previously believed.⁷⁹

Despite a century of research, the designations of Iron Age coins to a particular tribe that began in the 19th century remains in the 21st century. It is here that division in scholarship emerges between scholars who work on British material, who reject tribal designations, and scholars who work on Gallic material, who maintain them. Current British academics attribute coins to a region rather than a tribe: “South-west British”, “North Thames” and “South Thames” coinage now refer to what was once attributed to the “Durotriges”,

⁷⁵ Nick (2005) 116, abb.1.

⁷⁶ Wigg-Wolf (2011); (2018).

⁷⁷ Sills (2003).

⁷⁸ Allen (1960) 118; Portable Antiquities Scheme Kent-2EEAF0.

⁷⁹ Haselgrove (1993) 36.

“Catuvellauni/Trinovantes” and “Atrebates” tribes respectively.⁸⁰ However, French numismatists not only continue to use the tribal designations, but are readjusting them: Delestrée recently used coins to assign tribal boundaries, as well as attributing new coin types to a tribe.⁸¹ To make matters more complex, the most recent reference work used by Iron Age numismatists, *Ancient British Coins*, breaks from current British scholarship and attributes coins to tribes.⁸² This catalogue, while created with the help of British numismatists, is not an academic work and is designed to appeal to coin collectors and metal-detectorists. This is best seen in the author’s remark that:

“Despite the niggly nittypicking of a few academic numismatists, we therefore insist on classifying ancient British coins the easy way – the old familiar tribal way – as well as by regions.”⁸³

This desire to create a work that appeals to a public audience means that there is a disconnect between the academic texts and the current catalogue which they cite.⁸⁴ However, this trend towards using tribal names is not just a distinction of academics and non-academics but also between the French and the British scholarship. This is a problem for a scholar such as myself studying the coinage of both countries, so while I agree with my British colleagues that tribal designations are inappropriate due to the over-reliance on problematic classical texts, I have had to acknowledge the continental approach (3.4.1).

Other previously held theories are also now being questioned. Leins’ doctoral thesis mapped coin distribution throughout Britain, providing data-driven evidence against attributing coin distribution to tribal boundaries.⁸⁵ Talbot undertook a die study of the entirety of the East Anglian coinage and discovered that Iron Age coin production was intermittent and decentralised.⁸⁶ Talbot contested the idea that Iron Age coins served a more social than economic role (hence the bold title of his book “Made for Trade”) and attempted to associate the metallurgy, distribution and aspects of their minting to merchants.⁸⁷ This is a change from the work in the late 20th century that promoted the

⁸⁰ Leins (2012); de Jersey (2014).

⁸¹ Delestrée (2016a) 77; (2016c) 17-18.

⁸² Rudd (2010).

⁸³ Rudd (2010) 7.

⁸⁴ Creighton (2018).

⁸⁵ Leins (2012).

⁸⁶ Talbot (2017).

⁸⁷ Talbot (2017) 148.

social role of coins. It remains to be seen whether Talbot can turn the clock back, but the merchant aspect of his argument has been questioned. A political authority must have been at least partially responsible for allowing the striking of coins in their territory, and the East Anglian coinage rarely travelled long distances, suggesting that if there were a trade element to these coins it would primarily have been internal.⁸⁸ I personally believe Talbot's theory has some merit (6.2.2).

Iron Age coinage continues to be an expanding field, but large blind spots, like south-west Britain, continue to exist. Despite a thorough study of Iron Age coins, there are many questions that need more certainty, most notably their function. Throughout the last two centuries, additional access to more data through increased excavations and online resources has disproven and transformed prior assumptions concerning the material. Gaps in Iron Age numismatic study caused by a lack of evidence have often been filled with assumptions and educated guesswork, but as more evidence comes to light this can be avoided.

2.2: The Study of Hoarding

The definition of what constitutes a hoard is subjective, but it is generally accepted that hoards are intentional deposits of objects.⁸⁹ Any object can be found within a hoard, but metalwork hoards were particularly common.⁹⁰

Hoard are generally divided into emergency hoards, saving hoards, and abandoned hoards. They were described as such by Grierson, but the concepts were known in scholarship prior to their classification.⁹¹ Emergency hoards and saving hoards were associated with the monetary role of coins. The former identifies one-time deposits in the face of crises (such as war, plague or fire) and the latter refers to a steady build-up of the hoarders' wealth. Scholars often cite Pepys experience in the 17th century, whose savings were buried whilst Britain was under threat from the Dutch fleet.⁹² He thus represents one

⁸⁸ Holman (2018) 3-4.

⁸⁹ Ghey (2015) 11.

⁹⁰ Bradley (1990) 171.

⁹¹ Grierson (1975) 130. See Colbert de Beaulieu below.

⁹² The Diary of Samuel Pepys, www.pepysdiary.com, accessed 30.09.2019, Thursday 10 October 1667.

of the many individuals who deposited a hoard as a result of wartime factors. Abandoned hoards refer to hoards that were not intended for recovery, often serving as votive offerings. Grierson only assigned hoards to this category if they were obviously unrecoverable, such as the Roman coins found in Coventina's well.⁹³

2.2.1: The Study of Iron Age Coin Hoards

The development of the study of Iron Age coin hoards runs parallel to the understanding of the function of Iron Age coins. Previously hoards were seen as having an economic purpose, but they are now increasingly seen as serving a votive role. This transition is examined here.

The concept of emergency hoards strongly influenced Colbert de Beaulieu, who related many of the hoards in north-west Gaul to displaced refugees, although he connected some of the hoards that contained coins from different parts of north-west Gaul to commerce.⁹⁴ The relationship of hoards to conflict was used by Scheers to date a series of coins known as the Gallo-Belgic E series to the Gallic Wars, for in addition to their large production and their low weight they also appeared in hoards more often than other coins.⁹⁵

The association of hoards to Caesar's Gallic Wars or to the later Claudian conquest of Britain has continued since.⁹⁶ While there have been no serious rebuttals, alternative explanations have appeared. As Iron Age coins were increasingly seen as having a social role by scholarship, a belief emerged that some coin hoards were purposely abandoned for ritual reasons.⁹⁷ The cause of this development is the result of a perceived connection between Bronze Age and Iron Age depositions. In the 1980s, Levy interpreted a number of Bronze Age hoards in Denmark found in watery locations or deeply buried as intentional votive offerings, due to the method of their deposition rendering the hoards unrecoverable.⁹⁸ Bradley gave this idea prominence in Britain, with his influential *Passage*

⁹³ Grierson (1975) 136; Reece (1988) 267.

⁹⁴ Colbert de Beaulieu (1952a) 231; (1960) 90; (1973) 238; e.g. Avranches, Mordelles, Huelgoat.

⁹⁵ Scheers (1977) 66.

⁹⁶ E.g. Edwards & Dennis (2006) 257.

⁹⁷ Mauss (1925) 47; Aitchison (1988) 278; Bradley (1990) 10.

⁹⁸ Levy (1982).

of Arms book. Bradley suggested that the Iron Age practice of depositing metalwork in watery locations was a votive ritual that evolved from Neolithic and Bronze Age developments.⁹⁹ Iron Age numismatists noticed many of their coins were near watery locations and made similar conclusions.¹⁰⁰ From that moment, Iron Age hoards and Bronze Age hoards were linked.

Identifying Iron Age coin hoards as prehistoric restructures the debates surrounding their role. Iron Age numismatists are now more influenced by the Bronze Age archaeologists' approach to hoards than Roman numismatic scholarship, and as such are keener to apply a votive rather than an economic motivation to the practice. This had a noticeable impact: Howgego noticed a trend in numismatic study to see the Iron Age peoples as depositing their coins for a ritual purpose and the Romans and Greeks as hoarding coins for an economic purpose.¹⁰¹ Howgego saw this divergence as part of the wider, unconscious phenomenon of "othering" Iron Age communities, which presents the culture of said communities as different or opposite to the Greeks and Romans.¹⁰² However, in the case of Iron Age coins, this divide was not only the result of cultural attributions, but of the modern conventions of academia. The Iron Age is often categorised as prehistory at universities and museums and is grouped with the Bronze Age and earlier periods on account of these periods having no historical record of their own, with the Roman arrival presented as a distinct era. This can be seen in popular works, where Iron Age coin hoards are placed within discussions of Bronze Age and earlier metalwork hoards, even though the objects within these particular Iron Age hoards (coins) are more reminiscent of hoarding under the Romans.¹⁰³ The notion of the Iron Age as prehistory thus recontextualises the entire debate surrounding Iron Age coin hoards.

There has been an intensive focus on Iron Age coins on sanctuary sites, which has exaggerated their importance in a religious context (6.3.3).¹⁰⁴ Only recently have major studies of coin hoards appeared, of which this thesis is a part. Roymans and Creemers'

⁹⁹ Bradley (1990) 183.

¹⁰⁰ Haselgrove (2005) 146.

¹⁰¹ Aitchison (1988) 277; Howgego (2013) 33.

¹⁰² Howgego (2013) 33.

¹⁰³ Ghey (2015) 20-47.

¹⁰⁴ Examples: Allen (1964); Downey, King & Soffe (1980); Briggs, Haselgrove & King (1992); Delestrée (1984a); Clément, Gruel, Delestrée & Galliou (1987); Score (2011).

edited volume studied connections between well-excavated hoards in Belgium and the Netherlands, and identified that these hoards were not isolated but buried in close proximity to fortified sites, suggesting a connection between them.¹⁰⁵ de Jersey recently published a pivotal catalogue of British Iron Age coin hoards.¹⁰⁶ He identified new trends, such as the rarity of non-gold hoards and the placement of a significant number of Iron Age coin hoards on the brow of hills.¹⁰⁷ He was wary of separating the hoards into ritual and non-ritual, due to the limited evidence able to show the difference, and cautions that there may not have been a distinction.¹⁰⁸ He does, however, ascribe a possible votive element to hoards buried on the same spot over multiple periods, and he suggests that hoards buried during the Gallic Wars could equally have had a “pragmatic” or votive purpose.¹⁰⁹ While an excellent study, his wide-range coverage of material means his analysis lacks precision and regional patterns are not well examined. I intend to make use of his data to provide closer analyses of regional landscapes in this thesis.

The most recent study of Iron Age hoards is the upcoming *Iron Age and Roman Coin Hoards in Britain* project, which examines the national and regional patterns of hoarding in the landscape, focusing primarily on the Roman Empire but with some reference to Iron Age hoards.¹¹⁰ It covers the entirety of the transition from Iron Age to Roman coin hoards in Britain and as a result draws upon an extensive dataset. Similar to other studies, it has a national focus, so the comparison of hoards between nations remains an unexplored development.

Likewise Gruel and Pion developed an extensive regional comparison of coin hoarding throughout Gaul.¹¹¹ They determined that the range of terminal hoard dates suggests that the hoards were not all buried in response to a single crisis, and the occasional appearance of hoards at temple sites and the inclusion of objects within them informed their thinking

¹⁰⁵ Roymans & Scheers (2012a); (2012b); Scheers & Creemers (2012a); (2012b); Scheers, Creemers, Roymans & Van Impe (2012); Van Impe & Scheers (2012).

¹⁰⁶ de Jersey (2014).

¹⁰⁷ de Jersey (2014) 38, 48. I do not examine this latter aspect in any great detail, owing to the limited number of geographically defined coin hoards in France (2.3). The data is not available for a close cross-Channel comparison (the aim of this thesis) of hilltop sites.

¹⁰⁸ de Jersey (2014) 47.

¹⁰⁹ de Jersey (2014) 35, 47.

¹¹⁰ Bland, Chadwick, Ghey, Haselgrove, Rogers, Taylor & Mattingly (2018).

¹¹¹ Gruel & Pion (2009).

that they should study the material with an anthropological rather than economic or historical approach.¹¹² Their data consisted of hoards from north-west Gaul, north-east Gaul and a southern Gallic region attributed to the Arverni tribe. They compared the general hoarding patterns of each region and then compared these patterns with other coin contexts within the region. They identified certain trends:¹¹³

- North-west Gaul had many hoards of billon staters, but few coins on sites.
- North-east Gaul had fewer hoards than north-west Gaul, but more coins on temple sites.
- The Arverni region had a complex trimetallic denomination system.
- North-west and north-east Gaul had different approaches to metal, reflecting differences in society; north-west Gaul had a preference for silver and north-east Gaul had a preference for gold.

While Gruel and Pion identified that each region's hoarding was associated with the local society's attitudes to coinage, they also made overarching explanations regarding coin hoarding. They divided the hoards across all three areas into three categories: composite hoards containing coins of more than one metal or series, homogenous hoards containing only common coin types of one metal, and mixed hoards, containing coin and non-coin objects.¹¹⁴ They identified the composite hoards as saving hoards, believing that their mixed character demonstrated that coinage was taken directly from circulation, and the homogenous hoards as having a ritual role, determining that in these circumstances there would have been more discrimination as to what was deposited (see 6.3.1 for an analysis of their argument).¹¹⁵

This thesis uses a similar approach, comparing regions and trying to find overarching patterns. However, despite identifying different patterns of hoarding within each region, Gruel and Pion ignore these details to develop an overarching explanation on the function of hoards across Gaul based on their composition. I would suggest that isolating the hoards from their distribution patterns leads to one ignoring regional patterns in the coin hoards. It must be noted that the three regions Gruel and Pion studied are vastly different in terms

¹¹² Gruel & Pion (2009) 382.

¹¹³ Gruel & Pion (2009) 391-392.

¹¹⁴ Gruel & Pion (2009) 388.

¹¹⁵ Gruel & Pion (2009) 388-389.

of their archaeology and position in relation to the Mediterranean world. The culture of the depositors in each of these locations must have had significant differences, which likely resulted in changes in how each region understood coins and their hoarding.

2.3. The Role of the Metal Detector on the Study of Iron Age Coin Hoards

A large proportion of coin hoards in Britain were discovered through metal detectors, though the same is not true of France.¹¹⁶ Laws are far more relaxed in Britain regarding the use of metal detectors and this has encouraged the development of the Portable Antiquities Scheme, which has increased the likelihood of finds by metal detectorist being recorded.¹¹⁷ In contrast, the act of looking for ancient objects in France through metal-detecting requires legal permission, under Article L542-1 of the *Code du Patrimoine*, and there is strong opposition to the development of a comparable Portable Antiquities Scheme.¹¹⁸ This difference in legal approach has resulted in a reduced number of reported finds in France. From 1977 to 2005, the number of coin finds doubled in France and Belgium, yet from 1980 to 2009 in the Netherlands, where metal-detecting is allowed, there was a 2500% increase.¹¹⁹ Of particular relevance to this thesis, the number of hoards discovered per year has increased in Britain after the creation of the Portable Antiquities Scheme in 1997, from an average of 26 hoards to 67.¹²⁰ However, while legalising metal detectorists increases the number of hoard finds, the quality of the records can be diminished. The recovery of hoards by detectorists often lacks archaeological oversight, which means that coins can be lost and other archaeological features in the area that may relate to the hoard's context may not be noticed.¹²¹ The Sarre hoard, for instance, discovered by detectorists, may have contained 100 gold staters, but only 29 are known, so we have an incomplete record.¹²² However, the French system, while reducing the number of poorly excavated hoards, has also driven metal-detecting activities underground. Despite the rarity of single coin finds in Iron Age north-west France, a large number of coins from the region continue to appear in trade.¹²³ There may be more hoards being discovered in

¹¹⁶ de Jersey (2014) 5.

¹¹⁷ Portable Antiquities Scheme.

¹¹⁸ Moore & Armada (2011) 42; Lecroere (2016) 184.

¹¹⁹ Scheers (1977); Haselgrove (2005); Roymans & Aarts (2009); Martin (2016) 181.

¹²⁰ Bland (2011) 30.

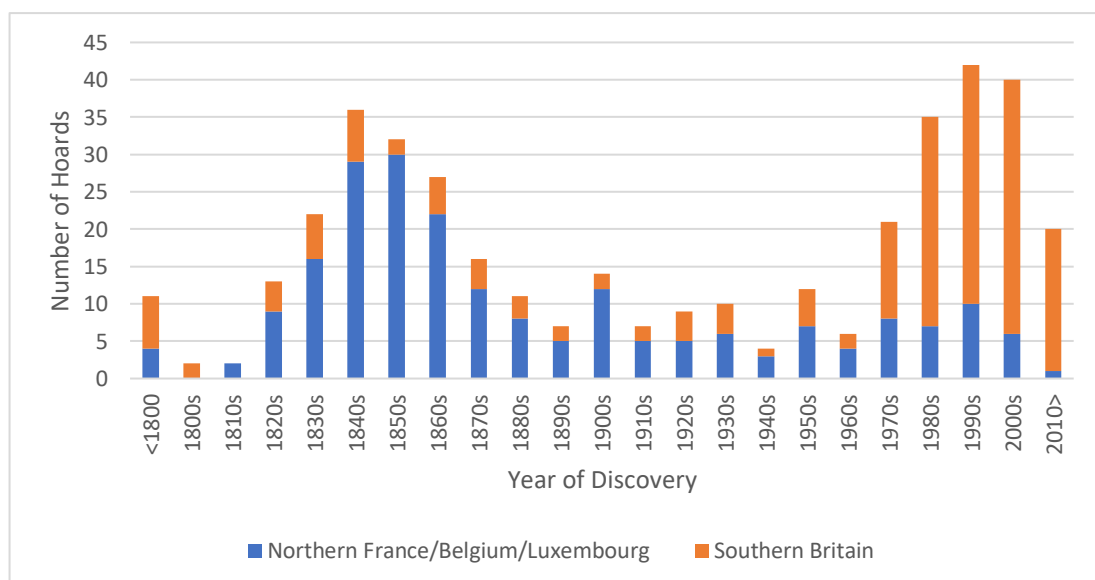
¹²¹ Robbins (2014) 12.

¹²² See the Appendix for full details on the hoard.

¹²³ de Jersey pers. comm.

France, but we are currently unaware of them. Metal detectors have an important role, though their invention is not entirely positive for archaeology.

Within my dataset, the rise of the metal detector can be noted, with a major rise in coin hoards in Britain from the 1970s (Graph 2.1). Such a rise cannot be detected in France at this time, but there was a major rise in recorded coin hoards in the 19th century in France. Many of the coin hoards in France were uncovered in this early period, which is the reason why so many of the Gallic hoards have limited information regarding their hoard composition: standards of recording were not the same as they are today. The numismatist Lambert was partially responsible for the high number of hoards recorded in this period: in his work on Gallic coinage, he personally recorded coins from no less than 32 coin hoards between 1840-1860.¹²⁴ Lambert referred to the creation of the *Revue numismatique* journal in 1836 as stimulating an interest in numismatics, which may also have encouraged coin hoards to be more readily announced.¹²⁵ This phenomenon is worthy of future study to identify potential other causes for this peak in the reporting of hoards, as its existence has implications for the importance of metal detectors. While the metal detector was clearly important for the discovery and recording of British hoards, they are not the only development that can cause a rise in discovered hoards, as France was discovering hoards in almost comparable numbers long before their invention.



Graph 2.1: Date of discovery of the hoards in this thesis' dataset in southern Britain and northern Europe.

¹²⁴ Lambert (1844); (1864).

¹²⁵ Lambert (1844) 1.

While the metal detector has been important, now that we have a large database of hoards, I question the need to acquire more data at any cost. Throughout this thesis, I use quantitative analysis for many of my conclusions, and in most analyses the hoard data overwhelmingly demonstrates a particular pattern. It would take a large number of hoards of drastically different composition to impact many of the conclusions in this thesis. What is needed more than ever is not more data, but more contextual information: a few, well excavated hoards alongside a strong understanding of the archaeology in the local area would be far more useful than a hundred new hoards with low contextual data. Therefore, I believe in the future that more oversight would be beneficial: widespread metal detecting has done an excellent job, but now more precision is required.

2.4. Contribution of this Thesis

Despite increased work on hoards, no study has adequately considered the intra- and extra-regional patterns of hoards together. Additionally, the choice of numismatists to study British or continental Iron Age coinage, with little overlap, prevents its study as part of its wider, trans-national context. A study of Iron Age coin hoards across national borders is needed. This approach will explore each region's approach to coin hoarding and will also determine whether cross-regional approaches to coin hoarding were a historical reality across the Channel.

3: Methodology

This chapter describes the means by which I collected my data and how I have analysed it. Coin hoards are often incomplete and Iron Age coins have many difficulties regarding their dating and identification, so the data does not readily fit into defined categories. I have thus created parameters for my dataset so it can be measured and analysed objectively.

3.1: What is a Hoard?

The specific interest of this study is coin hoards. Other metalwork hoards existed in the Iron Age, but the use of coin hoards alone provides a common denominator for comparison.¹ Coin hoards may consist of only one coin or many more, but for the purposes of the dataset used throughout the thesis, only hoards of two or more coins are included. A single gold stater, just like a single aureus in the Roman world, had enough gold content to be valuable in its own right and may have been worth hoarding alone. However, these are impossible to distinguish from accidental losses.² Additionally, hoarding multiple coins was a different act to hoarding a single coin, as the depositor(s) had to consider how the coins related to one another and how the coins could be used together. As this thesis examines the interaction between coins, the two plus limit is enforced. The distribution of single finds of gold coins has been mapped by other scholars and these serve as useful comparisons.³

Hoards have certain advantages over single or site finds. Due to their size, hoards often provide new coin types and the specimens within the hoard can be better preserved than single finds.⁴ However, when hoards are examined in number they are a far more useful form of evidence. They can be used to sequence coins, showing when a particular denomination or type rose and fell out of use.⁵ When viewed in numbers, hoards in close proximity with similar compositions and contemporary date ranges can demonstrate

¹ Bradley (1990) 171.

² Admittedly, greater efforts may have been made to recover a lost gold coin in comparison to a coin of lower value and this will have decreased the number of accidental losses of gold coins.

³ Sills (2003) 136, map 16, 153, map 19, 164, map 20, 169, map 21; Morris (2010) 12, fig 2.3; Leins (2012).

⁴ Noe (1949) 236; Ghey (2015) 13.

⁵ Robertson (2000) xiv; Ghey (2015) 14.

reactions to wars or other emergencies. Most importantly for this thesis, coin hoards show how coins of different metals and denominations interacted with one another.

3.2: The Region under Study: Geography

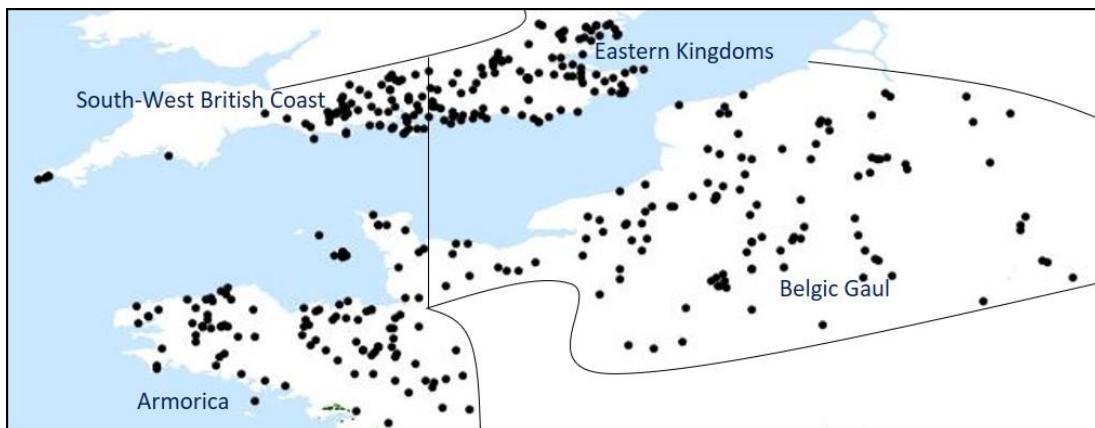
The region under study corresponds to the British counties north of the Channel and the French *départements* to the south of the Channel. Belgium, Luxembourg, the Channel Islands, the Isle of Wight and the islands below Brittany are also included. The region under study is approximately based upon modern British county and French *département* boundaries. While this is anachronistic, I do not find the tribal boundaries method satisfactory (2.1.4). Modern districts provide a method to categorise the region of study and can be understood easily by readers. In some cases, I have blurred these modern boundaries when the archaeological assemblages are similar. For instance, I have included southern Wiltshire as the hoards there are similar to those in South-West Britain.

The communities bordering the Channel had a range of different coin traditions. However, certain trends existed across regions that allow the designation of four geographic groups. These traditions are discussed in detail in the appropriate chapter, but a summary follows:

- **Belgic Gaul** (north-east France, Belgium and Luxembourg): gold coins were the most common coins produced and hoarded here. After Caesar's invasion, the region became the Roman frontier and many of the hoards consisted of Gallic silver and Roman coinage.
- **The British Kingdoms** (south-east Britain): the region followed the example of Belgic Gaul coinage, producing and hoarding gold coins. Cast bronze coins, known as potins, were also hoarded in large numbers. Small silver and struck bronze coins were produced after the Gallic Wars but were rarely hoarded.
- **Armorica** (north-west France and the Channel Islands of Jersey, Sark, and Guernsey): large deposits of billon coins were hoarded, with some gold, but few other denominations were utilised or hoarded. Coin hoards almost disappeared from the Augustan period onwards.
- **South-West British Coast** (south-west Britain and the Isle of Wight): similar to Armorica, many large deposits of billon as well as gold coins were hoarded here, and few other denominations were utilised or hoarded. The billon coins known as South-West British coins in current scholarship are part of this region and are

primarily found in Dorset. The term “South-West British coins” refers to specific coins and thus the term “South-West British Coast” is used to denote the wider region, distinct from these coins.

The coins and hoards of these regions have close similarities across the Channel. As a result, the study region of the Channel is divided into the Western Channel (Armorica, South-West British Coast) and the Eastern Channel (British Kingdoms, Belgic Gaul), each with an appropriate chapter (Map 3.1). In broader terms the Isle of Wight acts as an improvised divide between the Eastern and Western Channel. Anything to the east of the Isle of Wight is part of the British Kingdoms or Belgic Gaul, while anything to the west, including the Isle of Wight itself and its immediate mainland, is part of the South-West British Coast or Armorica.



Map 3.1: Distribution of coin hoards from my dataset in the region under study. Created by author using Antiquity À-la-carte.

The distinction was made by Morris, who undertook an extensive study of British and northern European material from the Iron Age and Roman periods. He identified three separate seaways: an Atlantic system west of the Isle of Wight, a southern North Sea system to the east of the Isle of Wight and an eastern North Sea system near the Netherlands and Denmark.⁶ I can confirm that the coin hoarding supports such a distinction, as the coin types produced in the Eastern Channel (Morris’ southern North Sea system) tend to be restricted to the British Kingdoms and Belgic Gaul, and the coinage produced in Western Channel (Morris’ Atlantic system) tends to be restricted to the South-West British Coast and Armorica. This divide, however, is not discrete and there is overlap.⁷ Nevertheless, the Isle of Wight is ideally situated between the two sides of the Channel and has coins from both, so it forms a liminal location. As a result, it is used as the conceptual

⁶ Morris (2010) 1-2, fig 1.1.

⁷ Morris (2010) 1.

divide in the Channel regions, with the allowance that it is not a perfect border. It is incorporated into the South-West British Coast on the grounds that the hoards primarily contained coins from this region. Calvados, the *département* shared by both the Gallic regions, contained hoards with coins from both Armorica and Belgic Gaul, so its separation between the two regions is appropriate.

The *départements* and counties in the region under study are chosen due to their proximity to the Channel. For most, their inclusion is obvious: they are either next to the Channel or, in the cases of the Channel Islands, in it. For the *départements* and counties not directly connected to the Channel, such as Seine-et-Marne and Essex, their inclusion is less obvious and is related to the rivers that would have played an important role for inland regions accessing the Channel. Rivers such as the Seine and the Thames were important access points, and Seine-et-Marne and Essex were close enough to these rivers and to the Channel for them to be influenced by cross-Channel interactions.⁸ Additionally, nearby counties and *départements* that are not adjacent to the Channel, but contained hoards with similar coinage to those bordering the Channel are included. For instance, the coinage in Morbihan closely followed the style and denominations of the rest of Armorica, hence Morbihan's inclusion in this study. Furthermore, particularly in the case of Morbihan, these areas are connected to the Channel via maritime routes such as the Atlantic Ocean, so it is possible that there was some level of direct maritime connection. My boundaries thus reflect where similarities in material culture ends rather than modern political borders. The Netherlands have been excluded from this study, because hoards only appeared in this region from the Augustan period, the hoards contained only Roman issues, and coin production does not seem to have occurred here in the period under study.⁹ As this thesis explores changes in indigenous coin use over time, there is little the Netherlands offers the study.

Although incorporating evidence from northern Britain and central/southern Gaul would be fruitful, the focus of this thesis is to explore the role of maritime exchange on the development of coinage, focused around the Channel. As described (1.4), the Channel serves as both barrier and bridge, which is a role that other natural features in Gaul and

⁸ McGrail (1993) 200.

⁹ The only exception is the Amby hoard, which lies just on the border of Belgium and has coinage similar to other hoards in the vicinity, hence it is included in the dataset.

Britain, such as rivers, do not fulfil as effectively. The separation between regions without a maritime barrier is not as distinct, so it is difficult to determine whether a pattern in the hoarding was cross-regional or inter-regional. Additionally, in central and southern Gaul, the coinage had a different character to that of the north. These regions adopted a silver coinage during the late 2nd to early 1st century BC, replacing many of the gold staters that had come before.¹⁰ This marks a different system of coinage to that of the north, where silver coinage not on the stater standard only appeared in hoards in great numbers after the Gallic Wars, so incorporating these regions would add a whole new dimension to an already lengthy study. In future research it would be beneficial to expand the region under study to cover the entirety of Gaul and Britain (and perhaps beyond, into Iberia), but the Channel offers an effective context for this thesis and the regions bordering the Channel are, for now, sufficient.

3.3: Dates

This thesis explores how developments in coin hoarding across the Channel reacted to changes over time, particularly during and after the Roman conquest of Gaul. To this end, the thesis covers a broad date range of 200 BC to AD 43. The 200 BC start represents the approximate first appearance of coins on both sides of the Channel. In the Eastern Channel, coins known as Gallo-Belgic A were produced and deposited in both Belgic Gaul and in the British Kingdoms sometime in the 2nd century BC.¹¹ Coins existed in Gaul prior to 200 BC, but to our knowledge these early coins were not produced or hoarded in Britain. Indeed, there is an example of a hoard of early Philip II imitation staters in the region under study, but it only appears in Gaul.¹² The period prior to the 2nd century BC allows no cross-Channel comparison of hoards; hence it lies outside the limits of this study.

The end point of this study is AD 43. This was the time of the Claudian invasion, after which Iron Age coinage seemed to swiftly fall out of production and circulation in Britain more quickly than in Gaul after Caesar's conquest.¹³ Extensive Iron Age coin hoarding possibly continued north of the study area, but few Iron Age coin hoards in the study region can be

¹⁰ Nash (1978); Nick (2015) 36, 221.

¹¹ Sills (2003) 330.

¹² Sills (2003) 371, no. 44. The hoard was found in Paris (Quai Malaquais).

¹³ Nash (1987) 142; Haselgrove (1993) 39; Bland (2017) 33.

definitively dated to after the conquest of Britain.¹⁴ There are suspicions that the coinage of the South-West British Coast continued to be used, and may even have been produced, up until the 2nd century AD (4.5.1), but by this time Roman coins dominated. AD 43 marks the final change from indigenous to Roman coinage in the period under study. The two sides of the Channel were now under the control of the same authority; an authority that produced its own coinage. Beyond this point, the focus turns from the interplay between Iron Age and Roman systems to the study of how two regions reacted to the Roman monetary system, and this is beyond the remit of this study.

Dating the Coins

Dating Iron Age coins is difficult due to their lack of inscribed names, and, in many cases, an absence of stratified contexts.¹⁵ However, scholars have managed to assign coins to a particular period, or at least provided a relative sequence. Haselgrove's dating of the Eastern Channel coins is currently the most sophisticated, owing to his use of archaeological contexts and stratigraphy (5.4), so this is primarily used to date the coins in this thesis, with slight variations determined by Rudd's more recent catalogue.¹⁶ In contrast, most of the dating of the Western Channel coins is broad and remains assumptive (4.5.1), so a comparison of Eastern Channel and Western Channel coins requires generous allowances in the date range.

I have based my pre-Augustan date ranges on Haselgrove's dating of the coins of Belgic Gaul. They are broader than those of the British Kingdoms' coins and allows for the incorporation of all the Iron Age material in the region under study, including the less-well dated coins of the Western Channel. I integrated Haselgrove's c. 200-125 BC and c.125-60 BC periods into a single 200-61 BC period due to the low presence of coins in the Western Channel before the 2nd century BC, which allows for no comparison between the Eastern and Western Channel in 200-125 BC.¹⁷ If the focus of this thesis was on the Eastern Channel alone, I might have created a separate category for this earlier, 2nd century BC, period, but the reality is that there is little distinction between these earlier hoards and those dated to the earlier half of the 1st century BC, so there would be little to discuss. The two periods

¹⁴ Talbot (2017) 144.

¹⁵ Explored further for the particular Iron Age coins of each region in their respective chapters.

¹⁶ Haselgrove (1993) 35, table 1; (1999) 164, table 1; (2005) 132, table 1; Rudd (2010).

¹⁷ de Jersey (1994) 40-53; Abollivier (2008) 265, table 39.

after 20 BC are based on Haselgrove's date ranges of the British coins, which broadly corresponds to the reigns of Augustus and the emperors from Tiberius to Caligula.¹⁸ Although the Augustan period traditionally starts in 27 BC, the period I have termed the Augustan period is related specifically to changes in the coinage.

The periods under study are as follows:

- **200-61 BC:** in the Eastern Channel, a number of gold stater and cast bronze hoards were present on both sides of the Channel. In the Western Channel, hoards containing gold and silver-rich Armorican coins appeared, whereas only a few hoards were present on the South-West British Coast.
- **60-20 BC:** the time of Caesar's Gallic war and its aftermath. There was a large increase in the number of coin hoards across all regions and the Western and Eastern Channel display regional traits in their hoards.
- **The Augustan Period (20 BC to AD 14):** Gaul is increasingly incorporated into the Roman world. The number of coin hoards decreased across all four regions. British hoarding continued with some variation, but there were dramatic changes in Gaul, with Roman coins hoarded *en masse* for the first time and there were changes in the hoarding of indigenous coins.
- **The Early Julio-Claudian period (AD 15-43):** Gallic coins disappeared from the hoards, and Roman coins become the most common coins hoarded in Gaul. Hoards were almost absent on the South-West British Coast, while the British Kingdoms' hoards increased in number from the Augustan period, yet their compositions were broadly similar.

All the hoards are dated by the latest date of their terminating issues: the *terminus post quem*. Certain coin types are particularly difficult to date, making it difficult to determine a hoard's *terminus post quem*, and these examples are discussed in more detail in the Eastern and Western Channel chapters (4.5, 5.4). Dating Iron Age coins is problematic in itself, as is dating hoards in general: the *terminus post quem* only provides the earliest date the hoard could have been deposited, and it may have been deposited years, if not decades or centuries, after such a date. Hoards placed within the same period in this thesis could therefore theoretically represent hoarding in different periods. Rather than the periods

¹⁸ Haselgrove (1993) 35, table 1.

reflecting strict chronological patterns, a more fruitful approach is to consider them as stages of coin development. For instance, in the Eastern Channel, the large number of gold hoards of the Gallic Wars era, the introduction of struck bronze and the increase in silver coins in hoards allocated to 60-20 BC mark a great change from the small gold and large cast bronze hoards allocated to 200-61 BC. There are thus two distinct phases of coins from this region and even if the dating of some of the hoards may be incorrect, there is still justification in analysing the hoarding patterns separately. However, I have found patterns in the hoards dated to the same period which would suggest that they were buried at around the same time, so the allocation of hoards to the above periods appears mostly correct. Any occasions where there is a great likelihood that a group of hoards were deposited long after their *terminus post quem* are commented on.¹⁹

3.4: The Dataset

This study of cross-Channel hoarding utilises data from British, French, Belgium and Luxembourg sources. I am indebted to all the scholars who have provided compendiums of the hoards in Britain and Gaul, on which I was able to base my research. De Jersey's extensive corpus of Iron Age hoards is the basis for much of the British hoard data.²⁰ British hoards found after the completion of his work (from 2013 to 2018) were sought from the *Numismatic Chronicle*, the Portable Antiquities Scheme, the Iron Age and Roman Coin Hoard project database and through conversations with David Holman, to provide an up-to-date data set. The French Iron Age hoards have no recent comprehensive compendium, so a number of individual volumes have been utilised. De Jersey's compendium of Armorican hoards and Scheers' compendium of Belgic Gaul hoards provide the basis for the dataset for both regions.²¹ The *Corpus des trésors monétaires antiques de la France*, *Trésor Monétaires* and Blanchet's compendium of hoards in Gaul have provided valuable additions to the regional hoards, particularly in the case of the *Corpus des Trésors Monétaires*, which describe hoards discovered after Scheers' publication.²² Sills' appendix of Belgic Gaul gold hoards and Dengis' *Trouvailles et Trésors Monétaires en Belgique VI* have supplied

¹⁹ Particularly 5.6.1.

²⁰ de Jersey (2014).

²¹ Scheers (1977); de Jersey (1994).

²² Blanchet (1900); (1905); *Corpus des trésors monétaires* series: Lorient & Nony (1982); Delmaire, Lorient & Nony (1983); Aubin (1984); Lorient & Scheers (1985); Delmaire, Huvelin & Lorient (1993); Lorient, Nony & Huvelin (1994); Delmaire (1997). *Trésors monétaires* series: Aubin, Nicolet & Nony (1979); (1980); (1981); (1982); (1983); Aubin, Nicolet & Sanquer (1984); (1985); (1986); (1987); Aubin & Sanquer (1988); Amandry (2002).

additional hoards for Belgic Gaul. The *Carte archéologique de la Gaule* for the French *départements* in the region under study have provided details regarding the contexts around the hoards, as well as introducing new hoards.²³ Aside from these volumes, recently discovered hoards have been included, but these were published as individual articles rather than as part of a larger compendium. The details of the recorder of these hoards, and indeed of all the hoards, can be found in the Appendix, which lists the entire dataset in alphabetical order.

In the major works of Scheers, de Jersey and Sills, among others, Roman hoards are often not examined. This is understandable as the focus of these studies is on Iron Age coins, but it must be noted that several of the Iron Age and Roman hoards have contemporary closing dates, leading to the possibility that the hoards were associated. This unfortunate separation has been noted by other scholars, but so far there has been little attempt to rectify it.²⁴ A major aspect of the thesis is to explore the interplay between the Iron Age coins and the arrival of Roman coins in Gaul. As a result, hoards in Gaul that contained Roman coins are incorporated within the dataset. In addition to the above volumes that include Roman hoards, Crawford's *Roman Republican Coin Hoards*, Coin Hoards of the Roman Republic Online and Coin Hoards of the Roman Empire Project have been used, in addition to publications on individual hoards.²⁵

I have not included coin hoards in Britain that contained only Roman coins. Throughout Britain, there are 51 Roman *denarii* hoards that contained coins that predate AD 43 and fall within the date ranges utilised by this study.²⁶ A debate exists over whether these hoards could be considered to predate the Claudian conquest, which influences whether these hoards should be incorporated into the dataset. Walton identified that the majority of the pre-Flavian Roman coinage (Reece Period 1) that entered Britain were clustered around

²³ Provost (1988a); (1988b); (1990); Pilet-Lemière, Bouhier & Levalet (1989); Delacampagne (1990); Cliquet & Gauthier (1993); Delmaire & Jacques (1994); Ollagnier, Joly & Provost (1994); Woimant, Declant & Provost (1995); Delmaire (1996); Rogeret (1997); Mourot (2001); Bizien-Jaglin, Galliou & Kerébel (2002); Pichon (2002); Chossenot, Charpy, Chossenot & Chossenot (2004); Barat, Dufaÿ & Renault (2007); Griffisch, Magnan & Mordant (2008); Galliou (2010); Redjeb (2012).

²⁴ Bland (2018) 25.

²⁵ Crawford (1969); *Coin Hoards of the Roman Republic Online*, <http://numismatics.org/chrr/>; *Coin Hoards of the Roman Empire Project*, <http://chre.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/>.

²⁶ Bland (2017) 27.

areas affected by the Claudian invasion, and as a result considered the majority of Roman coins to have entered Britain during the conquest.²⁷ Claudius struck few of his own coins, so the majority of coins available to his soldiers during his reign would have been Republican and Augustan.²⁸

However, Bland theorises that Roman coins arrived in Britain in some considerable number prior to the invasion.²⁹ Having reviewed the arguments, I believe that Roman coin imports to Britain were too small prior to the invasion to form large numbers of (or indeed any) hoards. Therefore, hoards that contained only Roman coins in Britain have been excluded from the dataset. I list Bland's arguments below and my response to them:

- **Bland: A few pre-Flavian *denarii* can be found in excavated contexts dated to before the Claudian invasion.** Response: The sites Bland lists are Hayling Island (Hampshire) and Humberstone (Leicester). On the Hayling Island site there were a large number of plated coins from Gaul, Britain and Rome. While plated coins do appear on other sanctuary sites, the large proportion of such coins on this site is a rarity. It is a unique site and thus any developments there cannot be generalised to the wider region. Humberstone is beyond the region under study and thus its relevance to southern Britain is difficult to judge. The number of pre-Claudian invasion contexts that contained Roman coins is small, and not suggestive of a large-scale import. An example Bland did not include was a medallion reworked from a cast of an Augustan *denarius* in the Lexden tumulus, a late 1st century BC barrow near Colchester.³⁰ This shows British individuals interacted with Roman coinage, but in specific ways that seemed based around the novelty of owning a Roman coin, which suggests that they were not particularly commonplace.
- **Bland: It is probable that silver units produced in southern Britain and in Leicester were produced from Roman *denarii*. This is based on these silver units having a high percentage of silver (over 90%).**³¹ Response: It will become clear in the Eastern Channel chapter that the coinage of the British Kingdoms responded to coinage developments in Belgic Gaul. Inscribed silver Gallic *quinarii* and Roman

²⁷ Walton (2012) 67, 73.

²⁸ Wolters (2012) 346.

²⁹ Bland (2018) 29.

³⁰ Laver (1927) 251.

³¹ Northover (1992) 288; Bean (2000) 208.

denarii appeared in Belgic Gaul after Caesar's invasion, and at the same time, silver units of a similar metal percentage appeared in the British Kingdoms. These were the first silver units the British Kingdoms produced, and it would appear that they sought their inspiration, as they always had for their coins, from their overseas neighbour. I believe that the replications of Belgic Gaul coinage would have led to this metal standard regardless of the ability to access *denarii*.

- **Bland: Many British Iron Age coins produced after the Gallic Wars bear classical iconography inspired by Roman *denarii*.** Response: This theory is based on Creighton's theory (2.1.4) that British rulers were raised in Rome and returned to Britain inspired by Augustan iconography.³² The theory itself requires no Roman coins entering Britain, only those inspired by their imagery. A number of coins of the British Kingdoms that bear classical subject matter have unique images, which, while inspired by other coins, are not close imitations, so they would not require the original model to be close at hand.³³ Additionally, Belgic Gaul was producing coins with classical iconography and, as described above, this may have inspired the British Kingdoms to replicate their iconography (5.7.3).
- **Bland: There are more late 2nd century BC Republican coins in the Portable Antiquities Scheme than in hoards deposited after AD 43, suggesting that the coins arrived earlier as an irregular injection.** Response: It will be seen throughout this thesis that hoards are a poor representation of what was in circulation. Roman coin users may have wanted to keep Roman Republican coins away from later, less silver-rich, issues, hence they were kept out of hoards.³⁴ Additionally, the *denarii* of the late 2nd century BC were not the Augustan imagery copied by the coins of the British Kingdoms, so the significance of this possible injection was minimal.
- **Bland: Mixed hoards of Iron Age and Roman coins exist.** This phenomenon occurs on the South-West British Coast, but these hoards all were deposited long after AD 43 (4.5.1). The few British Kingdoms hoards dated to the period under study with a mix of Iron Age and Roman coins each had few Roman coins (less than five), so the presence of Roman coins in these hoards would suggest that they had a limited impact.³⁵ Additionally, it is possible that these hoards were not deposited until

³² Creighton (2000) 92.

³³ de Jersey (2001) 11. E.g. ABC 2849, 2855.

³⁴ Wolters (2012) 338.

³⁵ Borden, Cobham, Chetney, Lyminge, Stoke, Weeley.

after the Claudian conquest, as there is no stratigraphy for these hoards to provide accurate dating.

To add an additional point, the number of Belgic Gaul coins produced after the Gallic Wars that travelled north across the Channel were themselves limited to only a few hundred examples.³⁶ Roman coins may have also travelled across the Channel after the Gallic Wars, but if their numbers were similar to that of the indigenous Gallic coins crossing over, then their presence would have been of limited significance. Additionally, the number of hoards in Britain that contained only Gallic coins produced after the Gallic Wars is low.³⁷ These hoards were small and are often some of the most unreliable examples from the dataset. The Gallic coins were not crossing in number, so it is doubtful that contemporary Roman coins were doing so. Therefore, the large number of coin hoards terminating in Roman coins of the pre-Claudian period in Britain does not fit the pattern of coin movements before the Claudian invasion. It therefore seems doubtful that many Roman coins appeared in Britain prior to the Claudian invasion, so it would be ahistorical to accommodate all the pre-AD 43 Roman coin hoards in my dataset.

Aside from the probability that the Roman hoards from Britain were mostly, if not all, post-invasion depositions, another reason for the omission of these hoards from the dataset is that this thesis studies how the coinage of different cultures interacted. A discussion of the evolution of coinage from an Iron Age to Roman system is relevant and is explored in Gaul up until the Claudian period. However, after the invasion of Britain, coin hoards across Britain and Gaul were dominated by Roman issues, suggesting that British Iron Age coins were driven from circulation quickly, so the changes in coin hoards relate less to attitudes towards hoarding and more to the whims of political authorities. The only hoards in the dataset from Britain that contained Roman coins are those that also contained Iron Age coins and have a *terminus post quem* within the thesis' date range. These hoards represent a Roman monetary system interacting with an Iron Age system, so they are useful in understanding how Iron Age coins were understood and utilised by their users.

³⁶ de Jersey (1999) 206-214; (2006) 128-135.

³⁷ Faversham, Penzance I.

3.4.1: The Problem of Hoard Data

Hundreds of Iron Age and early Roman hoards have been identified throughout the region under study and as a result the level of recording varies wildly. There are several difficulties in utilising hoard evidence and this thesis has included strategies to compensate for this.

Hoardings have been left out of the dataset if their records do not have the necessary information for inclusion. This study analyses hoards by the date and metal of their contents. If this data is not available, a hoard cannot be included. For example, the Aire-sur-la-Lys and Gouy-Saint-André hoards in Belgic Gaul are described only as containing Gallic staters.³⁸ While the metal can be guessed (gold), the hoard cannot be assigned to one of the specific periods used in this thesis, as there is no information regarding the type or even the political authority: the coins could date anywhere from the 3rd century BC to the middle of the first.³⁹ It must therefore be noted that the dataset is incomplete, as there are a number of hoards that possibly existed but the data quality is too limited. Such examples where so little is known are uncommon, and most hoards have at least some detail on the coin types and their metal. The absence of the few that do not have enough data will not change the overall hoarding picture.

Certain hoards may not in fact have been a single hoard but were originally two or more separate deposits. This could be the result of later ploughing disrupting two hoards near each other, meaning that when the hoards are found the coins are mixed together. Scholars have attempted to identify how the hoards were separated: something I intend to avoid. de Jersey and Sills are among those who suggest that hoards containing coins from a wide date range (for example Iron Age coins dated from the middle of the 1st century BC and those dated to the middle of the 1st century AD) represent multiple deposits, occurring over a long period of time similar to the coin finds from sanctuary sites.⁴⁰ While this is a possibility, it must be noted that such large date ranges occurred in Roman hoards from the

³⁸ Delmaire, Lorient & Nony (1983) 59, no. 2. 73, no. 41.

³⁹ Although the Aire-sur-la-Lys hoard was found with jewellery dating to 150-1 BC, this is too vast a date range to incorporate into my dataset.

⁴⁰ de Jersey (2014): e.g. Bognor, Nutbourne, Weeley; Sills (2003): e.g. Crochte.

dataset.⁴¹ This is not to mention the longevity of Roman coins throughout the empire, where Mark Antony *denarii* of the 1st century BC continued to be used in the 3rd century AD.⁴² It is therefore possible that Iron Age coins could also have remained in circulation for a long period (and indeed I think this probable, 6.2.2). As a result, I have included together hoards discovered in the same location that have later been divided by researchers. An example is the West Lavant hoard, which contained 1st century BC gold and 1st century AD silver coins. de Jersey doubts that the coins came from the same deposit, due to gold and silver rarely being hoarded together in the region and the different dates of the coins.⁴³ While I can confirm this is indeed unusual, this hoard could be the result of a particular circumstance, such as the depositor only having these coins available, so it could have been a historical reality. For the purpose of this thesis, I keep these hoards together, as the separation of coin hoards is artificial and subjective, and I wish to maintain a level of objective consistency. Circumstances when a hoard record may have been multiple hoards are listed in the Appendix.⁴⁴

Dividing hoards based on type is only possible if there is a great awareness of the coins' role in society. If one was aware of the conditions in which Iron Age coins circulated, then a separation could be reliably created. However, the reality is that little is known about Iron Age coins, but a lot is assumed. The role of Iron Age coins is still under question, so manipulating data based upon current assumptions is problematic. Future researchers will see this division, and assume coins mainly circulated close to their time of production, when in fact this is a complete unknown. I would avoid any current manipulation until there is a better idea of how Iron Age coins operated in the society.

The total size of hoards can be difficult to determine. Many of the hoards were found prior to the 20th century, and their archaeological recording is minimal. A number of scattered hoards not buried in containers have been reassembled.⁴⁵ In these examples, the total

⁴¹ E.g. Kwaremont. The hoard terminated in the Early Julio-Claudian period, but it contained *denarii* from the early 1st century BC.

⁴² Creighton (2014) 122.

⁴³ de Jersey (2014) 408.

⁴⁴ Bowerchalke, Brentford I, Climping (I & II), Cobham, Danebury, Freshwater Bay, Hurstbourne Tarrant, Lyminge, Marks Tey I, Mount Batten, Nether Wallop, Paris (Seine), Penzance I, Portland Bill, Stoke, Trinity III, Weeley, West Lavant, Whitchurch II/III.

⁴⁵ One of the more recent examples is the Lyminge hoard.

contents of the hoards are ultimately unknowable. It is difficult even for recently excavated hoards to be certain that all the contents have been located.⁴⁶ This has led to cases where hoards have been reassembled from multiple accounts spanning a range of years as more of the hoard is uncovered. Many of the maps and tables in this thesis are scaled to the number of coins in the hoard, even though the total size of many is unknown. In these examples, scholars have generated different estimates on the size of the hoard. When the size of the hoard cannot be confirmed, either because the original records were vague or due to failure in recording all finds, the lowest estimate of the hoard size is used. This may eliminate potential data, but it is better to ensure the results are based upon valid data that does exist rather than potentially including data that does not exist.

The data gained from a single hoard is thus often unreliable and difficult to use as a form of evidence. Using a large dataset mitigates these difficulties. For instance, while the complete hoard size may never be known, if hoards of similar types contained approximately the same number of examples, one can assume that these hoards are relatively complete. For instance, it will be shown that most hoards contained ten or less coins (6.2.1), so a hoard such as the Brix hoard, in which the exact number of hoarded coins is unrecorded, is more likely to be of a smaller than of a larger size. Additionally, a single hoard that has been inaccurately recorded or in some cases is perhaps non-existent (as can be the case for hoards reconstructed from lot records in auctions), utilised as evidence can result in fanciful conclusions. If such a hoard is examined alongside other hoards, it can be deemed an outlier, and its impact on historical analysis is diminished.

The dataset consists of 451 hoards, which form an effective sample. With new hoards discovered every year, the dataset is naturally incomplete, but it is of a size that represents general trends. Certain dramatic changes may still yet occur: the large Câtillon II hoard has been discovered only recently on the island of Jersey, containing 70,000 Iron Age coins. While a dramatic find, the hoard itself does not transform the pattern of hoards: hoards on Jersey tended to be large, with a number containing over 10,000 coins, and the coin types within the hoard are known elsewhere.⁴⁷ Despite breaking the limits on what scholars thought was the largest hoard in Britain, it comfortably fits into already established

⁴⁶ Noe (1949) 235.

⁴⁷ Le Câtillon I, la Marquanderie, Trinity II.

patterns, so any newly discovered hoard would be expected do the same. On a personal note, I have refined my dataset from the beginning of my study, as more information of the hoards have come to light. I have changed and added records as a result and the reality is that the broader patterns that were expressed in the beginning have stayed the same. It would take a large number of new hoards to alter the findings in this study.

A demonstration of the benefits of the large dataset can be seen in analyses of hoard size. Some hoards have variable estimates, so forming conclusions based on the numbers of coins in hoards may be seen as an invalid procedure, particularly as I have used the lowest estimate. This thesis studies the size of hoards by placing the hoard into a certain size range based on the numbers of coins.⁴⁸ Of the 42 hoards in my dataset that have differing estimates regarding their size, only 14 have estimates ranging so widely that if one were to take the highest estimates, they would cross into another hoard size range.⁴⁹ In terms of the scales used in this thesis, utilising the lowest estimates only changes a small proportion of hoards, so there is only a minimal impact on the methodology. Full details on the different estimates of hoard size are provide in the Appendix.

Due to the issues in gathering data, certain hoards in the dataset may not actually have been hoards. These hoards are based upon interpretations of multiple finds of the same coin found in the same area. The Faversham hoard, for instance, discussed in detail in the Eastern Channel chapter (5.7.3), was reconstructed from several reports of unusual Gallic coins of the same type found between two towns in Britain.⁵⁰ These coins are rare in Britain and do not reflect common circulation patterns, so it has been suggested that they formed a hoard.⁵¹ Most hoards were discovered without excavation, so this reconstruction is necessary. Attempts have been made to distinguish the reliability of hoards, but ultimately this cannot be measured objectively, and is no more subjective than the methods used to reconstruct hoards.⁵² Rather than selecting hoards based upon a self-determined measure of reliability, all hoards that have the necessary details have been utilised. Any attempt to

⁴⁸ These ranges are detailed on each table and graph, but are also listed here; <10, 10-25, 26-49, 50-99, 100-199, 200-499, 500-999 and 1000+.

⁴⁹ The 14: Alkham; Andover I, Bentworth, Bishop's Waltham, Butser, Castillon I, Chute III, Maincy I, Montanel, Mount Batten, le Plessis Grimoult II, Saint-Malo-de-Beignon, Strijtem, Urville-Nacqueville.

⁵⁰ de Jersey (2014) 237.

⁵¹ Allen (1960) 277.

⁵² de Jersey (2014) 53-54.

judge reliability may result in the omission of exceptional hoards, which, while dubious, may nevertheless be found to be genuine deposits in the light of future research. Additionally, using the entire dataset will ensure outliers will be noticed, and can be commented on for their unreliability.

Certain publications have used maps to designate the hoards that contained the coins of a certain metal, coin series or tribe.⁵³ Such a method assists the aims of the researchers, but it ignores the diverse nature of some of the hoards, which can contain coins of multiple tribes and metals. It is therefore important to show proportions. To this end, this thesis has adopted Martin's method of depicting coins finds on maps as pie charts.⁵⁴ The coin hoards of this thesis are presented on these graphs as divided by denomination, or in some cases their origin. The majority of graphs are to scale, designated by their keys, with the larger graphs representing larger hoards. A mix of colours in the same segment represent occurrences in the dataset where the denominations present in hoards are unspecified or unknown: for example, silver staters are depicted as dark grey and silver quarter staters as light grey, so for hoards where the denomination is unknown dark grey and light grey appears on the segment. This presentation will lead to some inaccuracies, particularly when there is an incongruence between the size of the hoard and the number of types recorded. For example, the Saint Helier II hoard consisted of c. 200 coins, but only 32 of the denominations are known.⁵⁵ In such cases, the graph is scaled to the size of the hoards, rather than the size of the number of denominations identified. This means that the denominations identified may be overrepresented in these examples. The alternative is to scale the graphs by their number of known denominations, but this presents the size of a number of hoards as distinctly smaller. There are difficulties using either method but maintaining the scale of the graphs to the total size of the hoards is used so the total size of hoards can be compared.

In British scholarship, Iron Age coins are identified by their modern-day region of origin, whereas in France tribal designations continue to be used (2.1.4). The use of alternate

⁵³ Gruel, Galliou, Lambert & Langouët (1990) 246, fig 1, 2; Abollivier (2008) 210, fig 117; Gruel & Pion (2009) 390, fig 10; Leins (2012).

⁵⁴ Martin (2015).

⁵⁵ Saint Helier II.

methods of designation is a problem for those studying coinage across the Channel. This difficulty arose in de Jersey's catalogue of British coin hoards, in which Gallic coins occasionally appeared.⁵⁶ This thesis follows his attempt to bridge the divide, by using the regional names for British coins and the tribal names for Gallic coins. This is clearly an uneven system, but it allows the findings to be understood on both sides of the Channel, without creating new regional names for the Gallic coins. Future works may want to examine Gallic coin distribution in the same manner as Leins studied British coins, in order to see how well the tribal model fits.⁵⁷

Despite the limited historical record, some scholars have attempted to link developments in the coinage to documented or suspected events. Caesar's invasion is often seen as a catalyst for changes in the coinage or in large scale hoarding.⁵⁸ However, other scholars have gone further, and have attempted to reconstruct a prehistoric history using inscribed Iron Age coins. Changes in iconography have been linked to a propaganda war between rival kings and the large-scale production of coins produced in the immediate aftermath of the Gallic Wars has been connected to the tribute demanded by Caesar after his battles in Britain.⁵⁹ Sills is a proponent of this method, deploying coin evidence to show potential dynastic changes, and he is unapologetic in doing so, stating that the best method to understand coin evidence is through political events, and even if these events turn out to be incorrect, they help push the research forwards.⁶⁰

While a widespread method of studying the Iron Age, it is not a method I wish to replicate here. I appreciate Sills' intention to place the coins in a historical context, but the problem is that there is no evidence for many of the political developments that are suggested by scholars studying Iron Age coins. Even the more convincing theories rely on Iron Age societies acting in a manner similar to a more recent political system, drawing up treaties, having lines of succession and owning territory, and that may not be how Iron Age society worked (see segmentary societies, discussed in 5.2). For instance, Sills' reference to Iron Age coins serving as tribute to Rome depends on the tribute payments occurring in coin

⁵⁶ de Jersey (2014).

⁵⁷ Leins (2012).

⁵⁸ Scheers (1977) 55; de Jersey (2014) 16.

⁵⁹ Woods (2014) 6; Sills (2017) 719.

⁶⁰ Sills (2017) 4-5.

and it is perfectly possible other objects could be used in their stead.⁶¹ I believe coupling the coins with imagined historical events provides too much of a comprehensive view of this period of history, which could be misused by other researchers who do not understand the complexities of the evidence. As a result, I have tried to avoid assuming historical events and the specifics of why a certain hoarding pattern may or may not have occurred. The final chapter is the only part of this thesis where I attempt to delve further and form a potential narrative, and even this is done tenuously.

Finally, it must be remarked that the only data available to us is from hoards that were not recovered by their original owner(s). It is probable that the majority of ancient hoards were recovered (unless hoards were primarily a ritual phenomenon, which I will demonstrate is unlikely), so the hoards available to study failed in their original purpose.⁶² The hoards in the dataset cannot be compared with successfully recovered hoards, so any distinction between the two is lost. Nevertheless, the data is only available because these hoards were failures, so that we must be thankful for.

⁶¹ Erdkamp (2013) 272.

⁶² Reece (1988) 267.

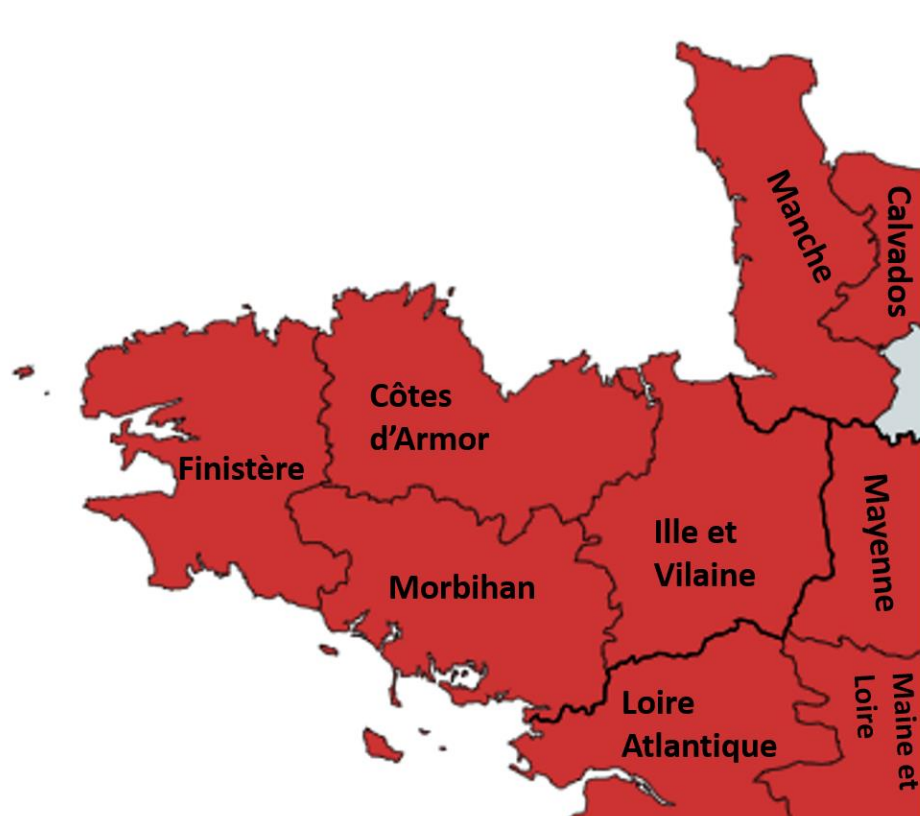
4: The Western Channel

The Western Channel is famed for its large hoards of Iron Age coins, and this reputation has only increased through the 2012 discovery of the Câtillon II hoard of 70,000 coins. The coins of the Western Channel are well-known for the apparently rapid decline in precious metal content, resulting in a system of gold coins deteriorating into silver and bronze. However, the possible connections on either side of the Channel between the coins of the Western Channel has yet to be explored. This chapter is dedicated to this purpose and identifies for the first time a pattern of parallel hoard activity across the Channel.

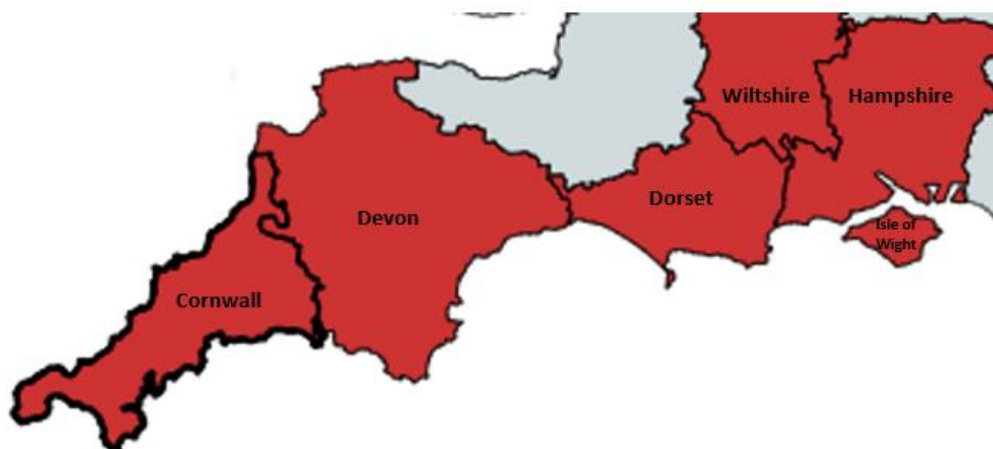
The Western Channel comprises the South-West British Coast and Armorica (Maps 4.1-3). The Loire serves as a boundary to Armorica's south, beyond which lies a region whose coinage was more influenced by central Gaul than developments in the Channel.¹ Hoards containing coins found throughout the South-West British Coast were present in southern Wiltshire, hence its inclusion, but northern Wiltshire is excluded, as the hoards there are primarily made up of coins produced in Western Britain, which are not part of this study.² Northern Wiltshire is also far from the Channel, and is thus more insulated from cross-Channel developments. The river Wylfe lies between the predominantly South-West British coins in the south and the more dominant Western British coinage in the north and may have acted as some form of divide between the Iron Age communities, accounting for the difference in coin hoards. The Mayenne and Maine-et-Loire *départements* are also included up to the Mayenne river for a similar reason, as several hoards containing Armorican coins appear to the west of the river. The Channel Islands were important parts of this region; the Isle of Wight is designated as part of the South-West British Coast and Jersey and Sark as part of Armorica, as the hoards on these islands predominantly contained coins found on the nearby mainland.

¹ See Nash (1978) for an overview of this coinage.

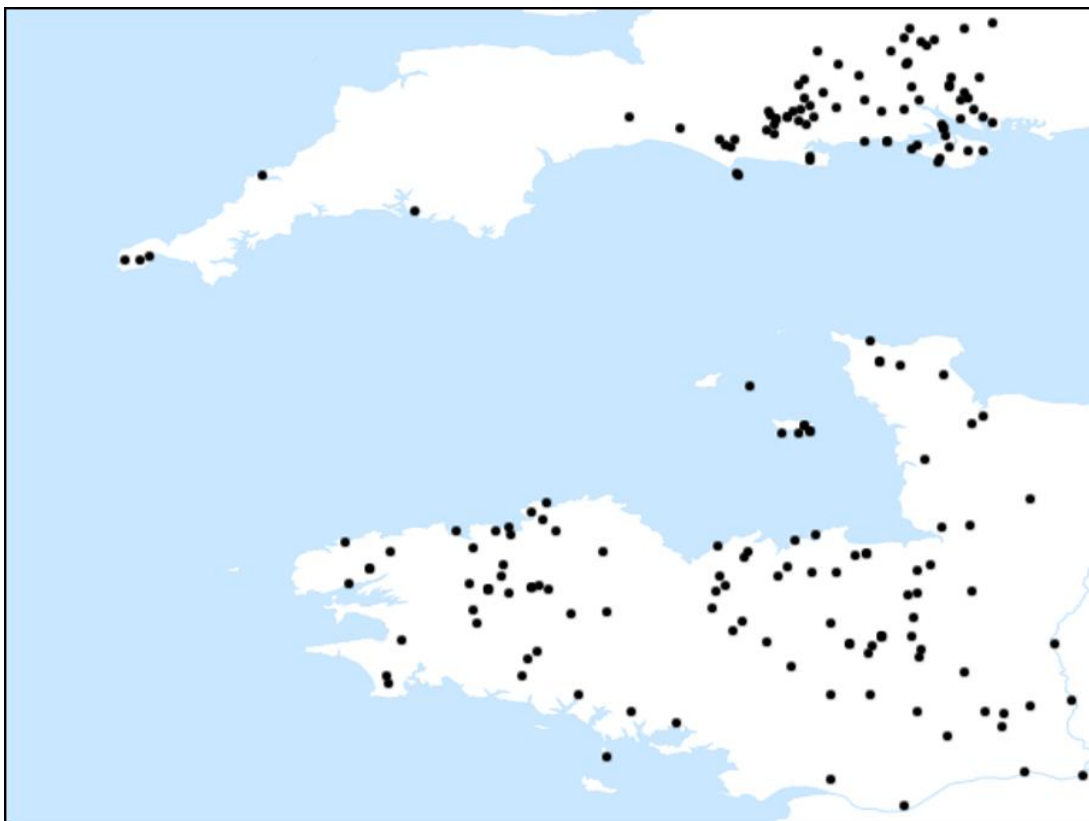
² See Van Arsdell (1994) for details of this coinage.



Map 4.1: Modern-day French départements of the Western Channel, <https://mapchart.net/france-departments.html>, accessed 04.09.2018.



Map 4.2: Modern-day British counties of the Western Channel, <https://mapchart.net/uk.html>, accessed 04.09.2018.



Map 4.3 Distribution of coin hoards in the Western Channel dating from 200 BC to AD 43. Created by author using *Antiquity À-la-carte*.

Mapping cross-Channel hoarding in the Western Channel has never been attempted prior to this study, and even smaller, regional studies have been limited. Mays' unpublished thesis, despite being over 30 years old, remains the dominant work in the field and her conclusions continue to impact current research. Mays' impact will be discussed throughout this chapter, but for now it is enough to note that she proposed a multiple stage debasement occurring over hundreds of years.³ This resulted in hoards of coins of early, high quality gold and silver and later hoards of heavily debased staters.⁴ Leins briefly examined the regional hoarding pattern of the South-West British Coast and attributed this pattern to Gresham's law, with the earlier, more valuable staters hoarded together, before leaving circulation due to the introduction of more debased coins.⁵ Over time, these later coins would be replaced by even more debased issues, leading to the hoarding of the earlier debased coins. This suggests that even though the metal changed, the staters were designed to serve the same function, with silver-based issues replacing the earlier gold-based issues. This is opposed by Mays, who perceived the earlier, more valuable coins as

³ Mays (1984) 124.

⁴ Mays (1984) 124.

⁵ Leins (2012) 150.

serving a prestige role in gift exchange and the later debased issues serving a monetary role, on account of the latter appearing in a wider number of settlement sites.⁶ I am inclined to believe that the later coins shared the same role as the earlier coins, as although the number of debased coins on sites is higher, their numbers were still fairly minimal (<10-15 coins per site at best), and hardly a sign of a major change to a monetary role.⁷ The slightly greater number of site finds of the debased staters seems related to their higher volume than the earlier gold-rich staters.

Studies of Armorican hoards are more common but scholarly focus has mainly been on the large hoards of debased silver staters on Jersey and the mainland *département* of Côtes d'Armor to its south, and there patterns are only rarely compared to the rest of the Peninsula or wider Channel region.⁸ The large number and size of these hoards has led to suspicions that many of the hoards and coins were deposited and produced during the Gallic Wars as crisis hoards.⁹ However, later scholarship argued that a number of the Armorican hoards were buried after the war, based on these hoards containing later Armorican coins, jewellery dated to the late 1st century BC and/or Roman issues.¹⁰ Additionally, the limited stratigraphic dating of coins that is available dates a number of Armorican coins to wartime and Augustan contexts.¹¹ In either instance, most scholars would link the hoarding pattern with the war in some manner, whether the depositors were warriors and refugees fleeing Caesar, Gallic freedom fighters revolting after the invasion, or Roman soldiers putting down said freedom fighters.¹² Due to current focus on the ritual role of Iron Age coins, it has recently been suggested that the hoards on Jersey were ritual deposits due to the range of coins within the hoard, but ultimately Colbert de Beaulieu's original interpretation, that the hoards were associated with the Gallic Wars, remains the accepted explanation.¹³ Less common views, such as the hoards serving as bullion for metalworkers, have not had a significant impact on the field.¹⁴

⁶ Mays (1984) 53.

⁷ Haselgrove & Mays (2000) 249, fig 125.

⁸ Hawkes (1937); Colbert de Beaulieu (1957b); Gruel (1986); de Jersey (2012); (2016).

⁹ Colbert de Beaulieu (1958b) 43; (1960) 90; de Jersey (1998) 47; Gruel, Galliou, Lambert & Langouët (1990) 245; Gruel, Matterné & Villard (2003) 37.

¹⁰ Colbert de Beaulieu (1973) 163, note 205; Fitzpatrick & Megaw (1987) 437; de Jersey (1998) 47; Hooker (2002) 83.

¹¹ Gruel, Batt, Clément, Fichet, de Clairefon-Taine, Galliou, Hyvert, Langouët & le Bihan (1990) 65.

¹² Van Arsdell (1989a) 12; de Jersey (1994) 118.

¹³ Gruel & Pion (2009) 389-391.

¹⁴ Hooker (2002) 11; Waterhouse (2014) 40.

A wider understanding of the region is required to understand the purpose of the hoards. The mainland hoards of Armorica have not been extensively researched since Colbert de Beaulieu's studies (2.1.2) and they have not yet been studied as part of the wider, cross-Channel context. This chapter contextualises the Jersey hoards within wider hoarding patterns in the Western Channel, revealing a cross-Channel pattern of seemingly related coin hoards. This will demonstrate that studying the coinage on only a single side of the Channel (i.e. France or Britain) is inadequate at accurately representing the Iron Age situation.

4.1: Cross-Channel Similarities in Coinage

Unlike the Eastern Channel, the coinage on both sides of the Western Channel does not appear to have obvious connections. The majority of coins produced in what is now Dorset (termed South-West British coinage in current scholarship) were inspired by the wreath and horse of the Gallo-Belgic C coins of the Eastern Channel (5.4), whereas the image of a human-headed horse appeared on Armorican coins.¹⁵ The South-West British Coast received greater iconographical influence from the east of Britain than its Armorican trading partner. However, coins on either side of the Western Channel shared many common features:

- Amongst the coinage of South-West Britain and Armorica, staters and quarter staters were (almost) the only denominations produced.¹⁶
- The debasement of coins occurred throughout the Channel, but in the Western Channel it was particularly severe. The coins on both sides of the Western Channel originally had a high gold content, but towards the end of the series the coins contained almost no precious metal, and in the interim period the staters primarily consisted of silver.¹⁷ Despite changes in the metal, the coins retained the same diameter and iconography, although their weight decreased.¹⁸
- The debased coins were often present in large hoards.

¹⁵ Haselgrove (1993) 42.

¹⁶ The only exception are the *petits billons armoricains*, an Armorican small silver denomination produced on a modest scale (de Jersey (1994) 114-115; Waterhouse (2014) 31).

¹⁷ Mays (1984) 85; Haselgrove & May (2000) 250.

¹⁸ Mays (1984) 123-124.

- In a number of these hoards, coins from both the South-West British Coast and Armorica were hoarded together.¹⁹
- No legends were present on coinage produced in the Western Channel, despite it becoming a common practice in almost all other coin-producing regions in Gaul and Britain after the Gallic Wars.
- There is little change in the iconography of the majority of coins from the South-West British Coast (the wreath and horse design) and Armorica (the human-headed horse). The Western Channel does not take part in the adoption of classical iconography seen in the Eastern Channel and any images that stray from Western Channel established norms were rare.²⁰
- In western Hampshire (identified as the Solent region), a number of coins have images based on Armorican designs.²¹ However, this was in the context of a wider use of cross-Channel images within the coins of this specific region, as iconography from coinage in Belgic Gaul also appears.

The coinage of the Western Channel shared similar traits that would point to a cross-Channel association. The trading relationship between the two sides seemingly encouraged shared developments in material culture (see below), and the comparable features of their coinage were one such development. The first six shared traits outlined here differed from the Eastern Channel, showing a distinction in the approaches to coinage between the Eastern and Western Channel. The iconography of Armorica and the South-West British Coast was the only major deviation between the coinage of these two regions, and the difference does not detract from notable other parallels between coinage.

4.2: The Archaeological Similarities within the Western Channel

The communities within the Western Channel were predominantly agrarian, with most of its inhabitants living in farmsteads.²² These domestic units were of similar size and form on both sides of the Western Channel.²³ Amongst the farmsteads were large fortified

¹⁹ Barton-on-Sea, Bembridge, Bere Regis, le Câtillon I & II, Down Ground, Freshwater Bay, Hurstbourne Tarrant, Mount Batten, Ringwood II, possibly Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives.

²⁰ The South-West spiral (ABC 2220) and a number of the *petits billons armoricains* (DT 2364-2383) were the exceptions.

²¹ The Armorican lyre below horse is imitated by a number of coin types, e.g. ABC 647-653.

²² Cunliffe (1971) 187; Reynolds (1979) 11.

²³ Henderson (2007) 214, 217.

enclosures, termed hillforts. Their purpose was not necessarily military, and may have varied depending on the site, with religious sites, temporary refuges and political centres among a number of roles suggested by scholars.²⁴ A range of Iron Age hillforts existed in Armorica, with their defences ranging from a few acres (e.g. Plédran, Ergué-Armel) to over 200 acres (e.g. Guignicourt, Saint Samson-de-la-Roque).²⁵ During his invasion, Caesar attacked a number of these Armorican sites, particularly those on promontories jutting into the sea, so they were still in active use at this time, and there is archaeological evidence of burnt gates in the hillforts of Le Camp d'Artus, Huelgoat and Le Châtelier, which may be related to Roman assault.²⁶ This style of promontory settlement is witnessed on the South-West British Coast in Cornwall and Devon, with Hengistbury Head in Dorset the only possible example further east.²⁷ In the westernmost regions of Britain either the comparable geography and/or cultural exchange inspired similarities in settlement patterns to Armorica.

Hillforts existed throughout the South-West British Coast, and they remained in use throughout the 1st century BC, contrasting with a decline in the use of hillforts in eastern Britain.²⁸ However, in the major hillfort of Maiden Castle, the organisation of the settlement layout seemed to break down in the 1st century BC.²⁹ The population seemingly moved to outlying farmsteads.³⁰ At the same time in Dorset, cemeteries appeared, exotic goods distribution became rarer and ceramics produced at specialised production centres had a wider distribution.³¹ The 1st century BC was a period of change on the South-West British Coast and it is probable that during this period coinage was first introduced, which is unlikely to have been unrelated. In the east of the South-West British Coast, in what is now Hampshire, and further east, many hillforts were abandoned in the 1st century AD, sometimes with apparently violent (though possibly accidental) endings, such as in Danebury, where the gate burnt down.³² This may be related to the Claudian invasion, or an earlier, independent British development.

²⁴ E.g. Hill (1996) 101; Cunliffe (2003b); Harding (2012).

²⁵ Wheeler & Richardson (1957).

²⁶ Caesar, *Gallie Wars*, 3.12; Wheeler & Richardson (1957) 31, 42.

²⁷ Cunliffe (1978) 11; Henderson (2007) 215, fig 6.6.

²⁸ Harding (2012) 276.

²⁹ Sharples & Ambers (1991) 99.

³⁰ Cunliffe (2006) 162.

³¹ Sharples (1990) 302.

³² Cunliffe (2003b) 171; Henderson (2007) 278.

Oppida was a term used by Caesar to describe a number of Iron Age settlements, and in modern scholarship the term is used to identify a large site dominating the local area with walls, possibly serving as a commercial, defensive and/or religious hub.³³ *Oppida* may have served as a form of early town, but there remains difficulty with their identification, as many Iron Age unwall settlements and smaller walled settlements also shared similar features, but are not termed *oppida*.³⁴ The term is a vague one, but it identifies a general pattern of settlement that occurred throughout Gaul. However, few sites in Armorica have been identified as *oppida*, and the few possible examples are only termed as such based on their size or defences, often lacking the signs of industrial specialisation zones characteristic of *oppida* in central Gaul.³⁵ There is a lack of small, non-stater, denominations produced in Armorica, and these coins are commonly found in *oppida* in Belgic Gaul, so perhaps the lack of *oppida* development also influenced how coinage developed in the Western Channel.³⁶ The concentration of population within *oppida* may have encouraged regular use of low-value coinage, whereas the more widely dispersed population of Armorica may have had less opportunity to use coinage in such a setting. They therefore produced only the high value denominations as a low value coin for everyday exchange may not have been necessary.

4.3: The Iron Age History of the Western Channel

The textual record of the Western Channel is limited. Caesar was the only ancient author to write extensively on the region during the period under study, yet he provided information of only a narrow chronological period and from the perspective of an external invader.³⁷ After Caesar and a brief mention by Strabo relating to Caesar's campaigns, the next reference to Armorica is in the 4th century AD.³⁸ Unlike the frontier region of Belgic Gaul or the economic heartland of southern and central Gaul, Armorica was not a strategic location, hence it failed to attract Roman interest.³⁹ Caesar described that Gaul was split into three parts, yet Armorica was not one of them and was considered part of the *Celti*

³³ E.g. Caesar, *Gallic Wars*, 2.6; Gebhard, Lehrberger, Morteaux, Raub, Steffgen & Wagner (1999) 218; Poux (2014) 158, 165; Moore (2017) 283; Fernández-Götz (2018) 23.

³⁴ Poux (2014) 158; Moore (2017) 284.

³⁵ Wheeler & Richardson (1957) 31, plate 1; Giot (1979) 291; Henderson (2007) 266; Fernández-Götz (2018) 24, fig 1.

³⁶ Haselgrove (2005) 148, fig 4.

³⁷ Creighton (2000) 11.

³⁸ Eutropius, *Breviarum*, 9.21; Pape (1998) 24.

³⁹ Pape (1998) 15.

region.⁴⁰ This apathy towards Armorica continued into the Augustan period, when Gaul was split into three provinces: Aquitaine contained Rome's allies, Belgic Gaul represented the Germanic minorities, and everyone else was placed in the final province.⁴¹ The failure to establish Armorica as its own province perhaps led to it being mostly invisible to Roman writers, with the exception of Caesar who campaigned in the region.

While evidence is limited, there seem to have been political similarities between Armorica and the South-West British Coast. During the invasion of Armorica, Caesar referred to Armoricans fleeing settlement sites by sea and redeploying to another site.⁴² This inability to force a capitulation through the conquest of a centralised settlement indicates that Armorica had no significant political centres.⁴³ Similarly, Vespasian during the Claudian invasion conquered 20 separate "*oppida*" along the South-West British Coast.⁴⁴ While dating beyond the period of study, it is the only literature available for the political institutions of the South-West British Coast. Caesar described the presence of a "senate" in Armorica, but there is no description of its function or whether it was an oligarchic, democratic or other form of political system.⁴⁵ This "senate" appears to have existed in place of a king, as Caesar mentioned no political leaders opposing his conquest of Armorica, in contrast to the detail he gave of Gallic leaders elsewhere in Gaul. The only exception is Viridovix, the leader of the Unelli, who ruled in eastern Armorica far from the centre of the action, and was not part of the Veneti campaign.⁴⁶ While the limited reference to leaders could have been due to Caesar's lack of involvement in the campaign, the lack of coin legends, otherwise witnessed throughout Iron Age Gaul and Britain, would support the argument that single rulers were rare in Armorica.⁴⁷ It therefore seems that there were no large kingdoms within the Western Channel, as was the case in the Eastern Channel.

⁴⁰ Caesar, *Gallic Wars*, 1.1.

⁴¹ Pape (1998) 14.

⁴² Caesar, *Gallic Wars*, 3.12, 3.14.

⁴³ King (1990) 28.

⁴⁴ Suetonius, *Vespasian*, 4; Cunliffe (1971) 186; Bradley (1984) 153.

⁴⁵ Caesar, *Gallic Wars*, 3.16.

⁴⁶ Caesar, *Gallic Wars*, 3.17-3.18.

⁴⁷ Caesar, *Gallic Wars*, 3.14.

During 57-56 BC, Caesar conquered Armorica. Caesar's account mentioned many different Armorican communities, such as the Coriosolitae, Osismii, Lexovii, Namnetes, Ambiliati, Morini, Diablintes and Menapii, and that these tribes allied with the Veneti, the preeminent Armorican tribe.⁴⁸ Scholars would come to attribute different Armorican coin types to these names.⁴⁹ During the conflict, the Armorican fleet was destroyed, the Veneti senate were executed, and many Armoricans were enslaved.⁵⁰ Caesar referred to the execution specifically of the Veneti authorities, but he had previously described all of the Armorican tribes uniting together, so it is probable that the political elite and individuals of other tribes were also part of this massacre.⁵¹

Caesar identified the Armorican Veneti tribe as the most powerful in Armorica, for they allegedly owned a large fleet and the few safe harbours in Armorica, which allowed them to control trade to Britain, imposing "*vectigales*" on those sailing through their territorial waters.⁵² This is the strongest textual evidence for Armorican and British interaction, suggesting that the Armoricans were in control of most of the trade. Caesar's term *vectigales* has been translated as tax (Hammond) or toll (Raaflaub), but this is a Roman understanding of the system.⁵³ Edwards translated the term as to designate those sailing the sea as "tributaries", which would change the connotations of this control from an economic to a political one, but unfortunately there is no way to clarify Caesar's meaning.⁵⁴ Strabo referred to the Veneti using Britain as an "emporium", implying economic concerns were believed by Greeks and Romans to be the dominant factor in maritime trade, though the Iron Age perspective still cannot be established.⁵⁵

Despite the apparent dominance of the Veneti in cross-Channel exchange, coins attributed to other Armorican tribes are more common finds in Britain.⁵⁶ Perhaps coinage was not used in long-distance trade or the Armorican tribes closest to Britain (the Coriosolitae,

⁴⁸ Caesar, *Gallic Wars*, 3.9, 3.11.

⁴⁹ de la Tour (1892); de Jersey (1994).

⁵⁰ Caesar, *Gallic Wars*, 3.16, 7.75. Although enough men remained in Armorica to provide forces at the battle of Alesia in 52 BC, the final major engagement of the Gallic Wars.

⁵¹ Caesar, *Gallic Wars*, 3.9.

⁵² Caesar, *Gallic Wars*, 3.8.

⁵³ Caesar, *Gallic Wars*, Hammond's translation (1996) 57; Raaflaub's translation (2017) 86, note 38b.

⁵⁴ Caesar, *Gallic Wars*, Edwards' translation (1917) 149.

⁵⁵ Strabo, *Geography*, 4.4.1.

⁵⁶ de Jersey (1997) 96-101.

Osismii and Baiocasses) were used as intermediaries or had a greater connection to Britain.⁵⁷ Either explanation assumes the current attribution of coins to tribes is correct: the system is still under adjustment.⁵⁸ Alternatively, Caesar may have been incorrect in identifying the Veneti as the leading Armorican tribe. The majority of the campaign was carried out at sea by Brutus, and the initial interactions were carried out by his subordinates, so Caesar himself was present for little of the campaign.⁵⁹ His interest in ethnographic accuracy may also have been limited, as his discussion of the cultural traits of his enemies occurred only at points in the narrative when Caesar suffered a military setback, so they seem designed to distract his audience rather than to provide a factual account.⁶⁰ The most reliable point that can be taken from the texts is that authorities in Armorica, whoever they may be, seem to have been the driving force in cross-Channel trade, as opposed to the British.⁶¹

The South-West British Coast received even less attention in surviving texts than Armorica, but developments in archaeology combined with the few references in Roman textual sources can provide some insights into the region's Iron Age history. Based on Ptolemy's *Geography*, the region primarily encompassed territories of the Durotriges tribe (roughly equivalent to the modern-day county of Dorset and southern Wiltshire), and half of the Atrebates territory (western half of Hampshire).⁶² There are questions as to how applicable Ptolemy's account, produced after the Claudian invasion, is to the Iron Age situation, but as one of few sources that identified regional groupings in Britain, it has been seized upon by scholars working on the Iron Age.⁶³ Other references in the historical record to the Durotriges are minimal and provide no information regarding their history, and the Atrebates history is centred around the kings of the Eastern Channel, so there is little more that can be said about these entities with regards to their role in the Western Channel.⁶⁴ The tribe attributed to Cornwall and Devon, the Dumnonii, is of little relevance to this thesis, as no indigenous coins appear in these regions.⁶⁵ Diodorus Siculus described

⁵⁷ Galliou (1990) 51; de Jersey (1998) 50; Cunliffe (2001) 402.

⁵⁸ Delestrée (2016a) 77; (2016c) 17-18.

⁵⁹ Caesar, *Gallic Wars*, 3.7, 3.14.

⁶⁰ Wiseman (1998) 6.

⁶¹ Mays (1984) 48.

⁶² Ptolemy, *Geography*, 2.2; Haselgrove (2004) 14; Papworth (2008) 59.

⁶³ E.g. Cunliffe (1971); Sills (2017).

⁶⁴ Fanello (2016) 27-28, table 1.3.

⁶⁵ Ptolemy, *Geography*, 2.2.

inhabitants of Cornwall trading tin to merchants, though the extent of this in the period under study is difficult to witness in coinage (4.8.4).⁶⁶

4.4: Cross-Channel Trade within the Western Channel

Ceramic evidence indicates that in the 1st century BC the ports of Hengistbury Head and Poole Harbour in Britain, and Saint Malo in Gaul, were increasingly involved in coastal trade and the cross-Channel movements of goods.⁶⁷ However, despite Caesar's reference to cross-Channel trade, identifying the movement of goods is difficult, as much of the material may have been perishable or raw materials that have since been processed, and thus are now undetectable. As a result, amphorae and coins dominate the discussion of cross-Channel trade.

The amphorae sherds of the 1st century BC wine trade remain the most reliable indication of commerce. The founding of the Roman province of *Gallia Transalpina* and of *Narbo Martius* in the 2nd century BC seems to have enabled access to these wine exports.⁶⁸ Wine was transported to Armorica, and then on to Britain, with the British ports of Poole Harbour and Hengistbury Head perhaps serving as redistribution nodes.⁶⁹ The Normandy to Poole Harbour and the western Armorica to Cornwall routes were potentially used as crossings.⁷⁰ In addition to pottery, movements of coinage across the Channel have been seen by scholarship as indicative of an increase in trade in the 1st century BC, and their presence on Channel Islands has led to the identification of these islands as stop-off points for cross-Channel trade.⁷¹ While the pottery represents a reasonably reliable indicator of trade, the purpose of Iron Age coins is still debated, so their association with trade remains a hypothetical one. The movement of coins has also been associated with non-economic events, such as Armoricans fleeing Gaul after Caesar's campaign, so the use of coinage in long-distance trade is by no means certain.⁷² The large presence of coins on islands is not enough to determine the islands' role in cross-Channel exchange. Instead, perhaps the

⁶⁶ Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History*, 5.22.

⁶⁷ Cunliffe (1978) 14; Woodward (1987) 541-542; Wilkes (2004) 265.

⁶⁸ Cunliffe (1997) 56; Abollivier (2008) 273.

⁶⁹ Cunliffe (2001) 402.

⁷⁰ McGrail (1993) 200, 207.

⁷¹ Cunliffe (1984a) 28; Sharples (1990) 300; Van Arsdell (1994) 27; Cunliffe & Jersey (1997) 5.

⁷² Allen (1968b) 53; Cunliffe (1981) 35; de Jersey (1998) 49; Van Arsdell (1989a) 12; Haselgrove (1993) 61; Gruel & Pion (2009) 391.

security offered by the relative seclusion of islands (compared to the mainland) may have been of relevance, as coins may have been brought to these islands specifically to conceal them in hoards (4.8.3).

Additionally, one should be wary of relying on amphorae and coins to model other, perishable forms of cross-Channel trade. Amphorae and coins were unusual objects, and their distribution may not be representative of the passage of more regular goods. Amphorae, and the wine within it, were produced in the Mediterranean, thus they only represent south-to-north travel. These goods were also prestige objects: Diodorus reported that the Iron Age peoples exchanged a slave for an amphora of wine; a possible exaggeration, but nevertheless symbolising the general impression that wine was important to the Gauls.⁷³ While Diodorus was speaking of a narrow chronological and geographic context, amphorae, when they appear, often form only a small proportion of the sherds on sites.⁷⁴ Their rarity suggests that they remained high value objects for much of the period and region under study. Coins did not cross in enough numbers to suggest that they were used regularly as a means of cross-Channel exchange. Therefore, the distribution of these prestige objects may distort the assumed trade routes of undetectable perishable items, which may have been treated entirely differently, if indeed they were traded at all.⁷⁵ However, these goods remain the majority of the surviving evidence of cross-Channel trade, so they must be used, albeit with suspicion.

Armorican pottery sherds appeared in Poole Harbour and Hengistbury Head, but material from the South-West British Coast is extremely rare in Armorica. The Kimmeridge shale armlets from Nacqueville, Alet and le Yaudet and the few sherds of decorated ware produced in Devon appearing in le Yaudet represent the limited evidence of British exports.⁷⁶ The societies of the South-West British Coast were not dependent on the contents of Armorican pottery, as the majority of sherds on British sites were local ware (Table 4.1).⁷⁷ Nevertheless, Armorican material is much more common in Britain than British material is in Armorica, and combined with the amphorae and coin evidence, this

⁷³ Diodorus, *Library of History*, 5.26.

⁷⁴ Galliou (1982) 3; Carver (2001) 38; Wilkes (2004) 182.

⁷⁵ Morris (2010) 19.

⁷⁶ Cunliffe (1997) 1.

⁷⁷ Sharples (1990) 300.

suggests that movement (at least of detectable goods) was primarily northwards. While the scale of this seems to be minimal based on current archaeology, if these goods, particularly the amphorae, were received by the elite, then these objects may have had greater importance than their small number might suggest.

| Site | British Sherds | Continental Sherds |
|------------------|----------------|--------------------|
| Hengistbury Head | 17417 (96.9%) | 551 (3.1%) |
| Poole Harbour | 10873 (96.8%) | 359 (3.2%) |

Table 4.1: Comparison of pottery from Hengistbury Head and Poole Harbour (adapted from Wilkes (2004) 381, table 13).

4.5: Coins of the Western Channel

The vast majority of hoards in the Western Channel consisted of staters and quarter staters. Most Armorican coins bore a human head on the obverse and a human-headed horse on the reverse (Fig 4.1).⁷⁸ Although the obverse and reverse subject matter was the same across Armorica, minor variations on the style occurred regionally and scholars have linked these variations to different tribal groups.⁷⁹



Fig 4.1: Baiocasses billon stater, DT 2259, c. 58-50 BC?, 4.33g, diameter and die axis not recorded, Obv. Head, r., with wavy hair, surmounted by boar. Rev. Human-headed horse, r., cross-hatched square to r., boar below. Courtesy of the Portable Antiquities Scheme, CCI-00026.

The majority of hoards on the South-West British Coast consisted of South-West staters. These coins were attributed by earlier scholars to the Durotriges tribe and are found primarily in Dorset.⁸⁰ South-West staters bore a wreath and horse without exception (Fig 4.2): the only variation was the increasingly abstract nature of its design.

⁷⁸ de Jersey (1994) 76. There are exceptions, such as a few coins bearing an armed rider (DT 2078-2094).

⁷⁹ See de Jersey (1994) for the full range of variants.

⁸⁰ Rudd (2010) 110-113; ABC 2157-2172.



Fig 4.2: South-West billon stater, ABC 2169, c. 60-20 BC?, 4.28g, diameter and die axis not recorded. Obv. Wreath, crescents below. Rev. Horse, l., pellets above. Courtesy of the Portable Antiquities Scheme, IOW-BC3F15.

Also appearing in many hoards on the South-West British Coast were coins known as British B or Chute staters. Their distribution centres around the middle of Hampshire, yet their iconography is similar to the South-West staters and the coins were often hoarded together.⁸¹ Their origin is unclear: Van Arsdell ascribes them to the Durotriges based on their iconography, whereas Sills and Rudd link the coins to the Belgae based on their difference in distribution.⁸² They are identified by de Jersey as “South Thames”, but he applies the same term to coins in the British Kingdoms that are distributed much further east, so it is not an appropriate one.⁸³ The Belgae attribution is based on Ptolemy’s reference to a tribe allegedly in the area, which Rudd himself admits is a term that has died out in archaeological circles.⁸⁴ However, he justifies the attribution because many of the coins found where the Chute staters are distributed have different styles of iconography to the coinage attributed to other tribes.⁸⁵ I agree with his statement that the Chute staters should not be associated with South-West staters due to their different distribution (particularly in their hoards, see 4.8.1, 6.4.1), but I wish to retain the current British academic position in using regional names. As a result, I have re-termed Rudd’s Belgae coins as Solent coins, based on their proximity to the sea north of the Isle of Wight with the same name.

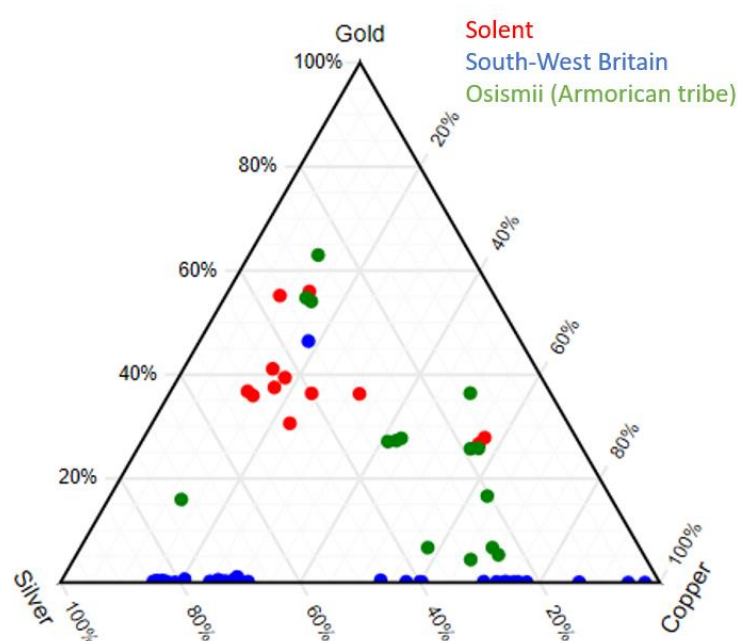
⁸¹ Bowerchalke, le Câtillon I, Donhead St Andrew, Down Ground, Portsmouth, Selsey, Shapwick, Shorwell, Tisbury, Upton.

⁸² ABC 746; Van Arsdell (1989a) 287; Rudd (2010) 57; Sills (2017) 293.

⁸³ de Jersey (2014).

⁸⁴ Ptolemy, *Geography*, 2.2; Rudd (2010) 57.

⁸⁵ Rudd (2010) 57.



Graph 4.1: Metal content of the coins of South-West Britain. Armorican coins included as a comparison (Northover (1992) 284, 293-294, table 1; Abollivier (2008) 82, table 2).

As mentioned, South-West British and Armorican coinage were united by the rapid debasement of their coins (Graph 4.1).⁸⁶ During this debasement, the South-West British staters decreased in weight from c. 6g to below 3.5g, and the weights of Armorican staters ranged from 8g to 3g: the later coins were not heavier to substitute for the loss in precious metal, and their intrinsic value became dramatically lower.⁸⁷ This process of decreasing weight and precious metal content occurred throughout all Channel regions and was not unique to the Western Channel.⁸⁸ However, the extent of this debasement was much more extensive in the Western Channel; coinage in the Eastern Channel ended with a relatively high (40%+) gold content, contrasting with the almost complete lack of gold in some of the South-West examples. The Solent coins retained their high gold content (Graph 4.1), so this major debasement along the South-West British Coast is restricted to the Dorset and southern Wiltshire region.

The difference in iconography between Armorican and South-West British coins is related to the chronological order in which coins appeared in Britain. Although Armorican coin production began earlier than the South-West British coinage, it is probable that the coinage of the Eastern Channel influenced the South-West British Coast first. Gallo-Belgic A

⁸⁶ Van Arsdell (1989a) 287; Northover (1992) 284, 293-294; Haselgrove & Mays (2000) 250.

⁸⁷ Nash (1978) 246; Mays (1984) 123-124; Northover (1992) 258; de Jersey (1994).

⁸⁸ Northover (1992).

coinage, produced initially in Belgic Gaul, is thought to have been produced from the early 2nd century BC, whereas there is little evidence that the coins bearing the Armorican human-headed horse were produced at scale before the 1st century BC.⁸⁹ These dates remain only estimates, and the Armorican dating is based on flawed theories (2.1.2), but it is apparent that the early Gallo-Belgic coinage arrived in Britain in greater numbers than the early Armorican coins. The hoards support this: in the 200-61 BC period, the only hoard on the South-West British Coast and the British Kingdoms that contained Armorican coins was the Gurnard Bay hoard, compared with seven hoards dated to 200-61 BC in the British Kingdoms that contained Gallo-Belgic staters.⁹⁰ While Gallo-Belgic A coins, and the Gallo-Belgic C coins that followed them, were mostly distributed in the British Kingdoms, a small number of Gallo-Belgic C coins appeared in South-West Britain, although they do not appear to have been hoarded.⁹¹ Additionally, the ports of Alet in Armorica and Hengistbury Head on the South-West British Coast, important sites for cross-Channel trade, both became densely occupied in the 1st century BC, suggesting that it was at this time that cross-Channel maritime movements intensified.⁹² Prior to this point, there would have been less chance of Armorican coinage arriving in Britain.

It is probable that Gallo-Belgic coins were the first coins encountered by the inhabitants of the South-West British Coast. When the South-West British Coast came to produce its own coinage, the inhabitants based their coins and iconography on the first coins that they had come into contact with. This is a regular pattern for the beginning of coinage in a region: this occurred in south-west Gaul, where local Gallic groups produced coins influenced by the Greek colony of Rhode in Iberia to create the *monnaies à la croix*.⁹³ Once these images had been created, these regions maintained these iconographic traditions. This would also seem to be the case with the South-West British Coast coinage, particularly in Dorset where there was no variation from these initial designs. Even when Armorican coinage increased in availability in the 1st century BC, the iconography inspired by coins of the Eastern Channel had already been established as an image that would have been trusted by

⁸⁹ DT 52-58; de Jersey (1994) 75; Sills (2003) 330; Abollivier (2008) 265, table 39.

⁹⁰ Barton-on-Sea, Butser, Canterbury, Chessington, Gurnard Bay, Higham, Shoreham, Stansted area, Woolage.

⁹¹ Leins (2012) 74, fig 4.1, 77, fig 4.

⁹² Cunliffe (1978) 35; Galliou (1990) 50, fig 2; Sharples (1990) 300.

⁹³ Boudet (1997) 14-16; Hiriart (2019) 56.

its users on the South-West British Coast.⁹⁴ Later Eastern Channel innovations, such as the silver and bronze unit denominations and the classical iconography, had no further impact in the west. The original image was significant because it became trusted rather than because of its cultural link to the Eastern Channel.

The introduction of iconography of an Eastern Channel style to the South-West British Coast was particularly significant for Iron Age Dorset, for it resulted in a peculiar regional phenomenon developing. Most Iron Age staters had corresponding quarter staters with the same iconography. However, the stater and quarter staters in Dorset had different iconography. These South-West British staters (Fig 4.2) imitated coinage produced in Hampshire (Fig 4.3) that had originally derived from Gallo-Belgic C, whereas the quarter staters (Fig 4.4) imitated the Gallo-Belgic D (Fig 4.5) gold quarter stater from Belgic Gaul.⁹⁵ This appears to have been a by-product of Iron Age Dorset adopting Eastern Channel iconography during a moment when these prototypes were in use in the Eastern Channel. Iron Age Dorset drew from this package of coin types available in the Eastern Channel, hence they have two seemingly different coin types for their staters and quarters. Indeed, the connection between staters and quarter staters on the South-West British Coast may not be so close (see 4.8.2).



Figure 4.3: Southern gold stater, ABC 485, c. 60-50 BC, 5.89g, 20.51 mm, die axis not recorded. Obv. Wreath, crescents below. Rev. Horse, r. pellet in ring to r., pellets above, wheel below. Courtesy of the Portable Antiquities Scheme, SUR-EA06A3.

⁹⁴ de Jersey (1997) 96-101 lists Armorican coins finds, most of which date to the 1st century BC.

⁹⁵ Staters: ABC 2157-2175, DT 157-161, quarter Staters: ABC 2205-2220, DT 249.



Fig 4.4: South-West billon quarter stater, ABC 2205, c. 80-50 BC?, 1.58g, 10.2mm, die axis not recorded. Obv. Three figures in boat, spiked line below. Rev. Zigzag thunderbolt, uncertain objects either side. Courtesy of the Portable Antiquities Scheme, IOW-545769.



Fig 4.5: Gallo-Belgic D gold quarter stater, ABC 40, c. 80-50 BC, weight not recorded, 10.6mm, die axis not recorded. Obv. Three figures in boat, stars around. Rev. Tree, symbols front and back, lightning bolt below. Courtesy of the Portable Antiquities Scheme, BH-9F1313.

The origin of South-West British coin iconography is clear, but the same is not true of the Armorican human-headed horse that pervades their coinage (see Fig 4.1). The human-headed horse is almost only found on Iron Age coins, with the only exception being a statuette found in a female burial at Reinheim, Germany.⁹⁶ The image is part of a wider Iron Age phenomenon of depicting hybrid creatures (such as that of horned gods) or the reimagining of Greek and Roman monsters (such as the sphinx or Pegasus) on the coins of the Eastern Channel.⁹⁷ It was not specifically an Armorican image, and can be seen on coin types outside Armorica, such as those distributed in Luxembourg.⁹⁸ What differentiates the Armorican coins is the scale of the production of these images and that it appears upon almost all their staters and quarter staters.

The choice of image is likely cultural, perhaps relating to a religious aspect of the society.⁹⁹ However, the image may have had a utilitarian purpose: Green suggested that the human-headed horse was designed to shock, and to act as a “Celtic ” image in the face of Roman imperialism.¹⁰⁰ The latter part of this theory is doubtful, given that the image was circulating before the Romans made their appearance in northern Gaul, but the shock factor of the image is relevant. The Armorican engravers may have produced an image that

⁹⁶ Aldhouse-Green (2004) 161.

⁹⁷ Rowan & Swan (2015) 81-82.

⁹⁸ DT 305A-311, 355

⁹⁹ Hooker (2002) 59; Cassibry (2017) 143.

¹⁰⁰ Aldhouse-Green (2004) 163.

had little cultural relationship to other Iron Age communities, as the human-headed horse was so rare outside Armorica. As a result, unusual iconography may have been employed to prevent other communities using Armorican coins, as the image was too unfamiliar to them. This may have assisted in reducing the likelihood of precious metal coins leaving Armorica. Indeed, Armorican coins were hoarded separately in Belgic Gaul from local coins, despite mixed hoards of silver and gold staters appearing elsewhere in the Eastern Channel (further discussed in 6.4.1).¹⁰¹

A late change in Armorican iconography may suggest a change in this strategy. This can be seen amongst the coins attributed to the Coriosolitae; the most common coins in Armorica.¹⁰² Their coins have been divided into six classes, the earliest of which are (confusingly) classes IV-VI (Fig 4.6), which bear the traditional human-headed horse.¹⁰³ These classes were initially based on studying iconographic changes, but later work on hoards demonstrated that classes I-III were in fact the latest.¹⁰⁴ Classes I-III (Fig 4.7), most notably class II, show a smaller head, making the reverse image appear more horse-like.¹⁰⁵ This distinction was a major break from the previous iconographic style: perhaps the latter design was to help pay for mercenaries and other support from communities who used coins with a non-hybridised horse (e.g. the South-West British Coast), who would expect such an image. Class II and III Coriosolitae coins are the most common finds of Armorican coins in Britain and the only hoard of Coriosolitae coins in Belgic Gaul consisted entirely of class I-III coins, so the change in iconography seems to have had an impact on the movement of these coins.¹⁰⁶ Coin iconography seems to have had great relevance in the Iron Age and this may have had ramifications for the use of these coins (6.2.2).

4.5.1: The Problems with Dating

Even within the study of Iron Age coins, the coins of the Western Channel are particularly prone to difficulties in dating. There are no legends on Iron Age coins in the Western Channel, unlike those on the coins of the British Kingdoms that can be cross-referenced to

¹⁰¹ Amby, Birch.

¹⁰² de Jersey (1994) 95; Hooker (2002) 1.

¹⁰³ Rybot (1952); DT 2329-2335.

¹⁰⁴ Colbert de Beaulieu (1957b) 51; Gruel (1981) 106; de Jersey (2016) 163-164.

¹⁰⁵ DT 2336-2341.

¹⁰⁶ de Jersey (1997) 75, fig 40; Belleville-sur-Mer.

Roman textual sources. A lack of findspots unable to be stratigraphically dated exacerbates the problem.¹⁰⁷



Fig 4.6: Coriosolitae billon stater, class V, DT 2332, c. 58-50 BC?, 6.31g, 24mm, 5 o'clock. Obv. Head, r., crescents for hair, large S within hair. Rev. Human-headed horse, r., head above, pellet in ring on stick above, lyre below. Coin Project 781653, www.coinproject.com/coin_detail.php?coin=221816, accessed 10.01.2020.



Fig 4.7: Coriosolitae billon stater, class II, DT 2340, c. 58-50 BC?, 5.71g, diameter and die axis not recorded. Obv. Head, r., crescents for hair, large S within hair. Rev. Human-headed horse with small head, r., boar below. Courtesy of the Portable Antiquities Scheme, CCI-840095.

Scholars have used the changes in precious metal content and weight to date the coins, with scholars suspecting that the most debased issues were the latest in the series.¹⁰⁸ The weight and metal content of Armorican coins declined gradually at first, but then there was a sudden sharp decline.¹⁰⁹ It is probable that the debasement was enacted to produce more coins from the same or a more limited store of precious metal, with the intention that the larger number of coins could fund the response to Caesar's invasion. This leads to the conclusion that the lower number of Armorican finer gold coins were produced earlier, and their relative absence from hoards of known later date (such as Câtillon I) supports this.¹¹⁰ Additionally, one can witness increased abstraction in the iconography from Philip II's gold onwards (1.3.2), which assists in the knowledge of dating mechanisms, although

¹⁰⁷ Gruel, Batt, Clément, Fichet de Clairefon-Taine, Galliou, Hyvert, Langouët & le Bihan (1990) 63.

¹⁰⁸ Mays (1984) 123-124; Haselgrove & Mays (2000) 250; Abollivier (2008) 82.

¹⁰⁹ de Jersey (1994) 54, 76; Abollivier (2008) 82, table 2.

¹¹⁰ de Jersey (1994) 40-53; Abollivier (2008) 265, table 39.

this evolution is much more minimal compared to the more diverse stater designs of the Eastern Channel.

Using this evidence, the Armorican coins can theoretically be separated into the periods 200-61 BC (most gold/silver-rich coins) and 60-20 BC (most debased coins). The dating of the coins in this thesis primarily uses the sequencing of the coins undertaken by de Jersey, as it is the most comprehensive and latest work undertaken on Armorican coins.¹¹¹ He places the coins into three phases, with the last phase including the most debased issues thought to have been produced during or shortly after the Gallic Wars. As a result, I have placed de Jersey's first two phases within a 200-61 BC date and his phase three coins within the 60-20 BC period. Abollivier has produced a close study of the coinage attributed to the Armorican Osismii tribe since de Jersey's work.¹¹² Abollivier, based on a close analysis of the metallurgy, suggested a number of coin types that possibly dated prior to the Gallic Wars, but I hesitate to use his precise dating, which is divided into neat 30 or 40 year periods; an impossibility considering the lack of stratigraphic and textual evidence.¹¹³ Additionally, the date Abollivier recommends as the start date of Osismii coinage is 120 BC, worryingly close to the date suggested by Colbert de Beaulieu's early work that was based on a flawed theory (2.1.2). Nevertheless, his distinction between coinage before and contemporary to the Gallic Wars remains useful, so this is used rather than his precise dating.

The dating of the South-West British coinage of Dorset is even more problematic, also partially due to a lack of stratified coin contexts.¹¹⁴ The current accepted date ranges remain based on Mays' unpublished thesis, as no other scholar has made a serious attempt to date the coins.¹¹⁵ The evidence that Mays' scheme relies upon is the Câtillon I hoard on Jersey. The fibula in this hoard dates the hoard tenuously to c. 40-20 BC (the fibula style itself is dated to c. 70-20 BC, with a later date being favoured) and it contained a worn gold stater, either of South-West or Solent manufacture, and unworn South-West British silver

¹¹¹ de Jersey (1994).

¹¹² Abollivier (2008).

¹¹³ Abollivier (2008) 265, table 39.

¹¹⁴ Papworth (2011) 56; de Jersey (2014) 21.

¹¹⁵ E.g. de Jersey (2014) 23-24; Portable Antiquities Scheme IARCH-33BE36; IARCH-523610.

staters.¹¹⁶ Due to their condition, Mays suggested that the hoard was deposited during the transition from gold staters to silver staters, hence the worn gold and unworn silver, and concluded that the silver staters were first produced in the late 1st century BC.¹¹⁷ Mays suggests that later, more debased staters represented a second stage of debasement, on account of these coins having a different distribution and different die links to the earlier, silver-rich staters.¹¹⁸

It must be noted that the different distribution patterns Mays observed between the silver-rich and more debased coins are no longer valid, as they are in fact similar (Maps 4.4-5). However, a few of the heavily debased staters appeared in Claudian contexts, namely Roman forts such as Waddon Hill, and thus Mays suggests that they date to the 1st century AD.¹¹⁹ Mays also describes a third class of cast South-West British staters, and she suggests that they date to the 2nd century AD owing to their presence in the Holdenhurst hoard.¹²⁰ These latter coins appeared in no hoards that can be dated within the study period, with the exception of the tenuously dated, recently discovered Hengistbury Head hoard, and hence they are of limited interest to this thesis. However, it must be noted that dating the coins this late is primarily based on the large number (several thousands) of coins found in the larger Hengistbury Head hoard, which may not even date to the 2nd century AD (see below), so Mays' dating of these coins also remains a concern.

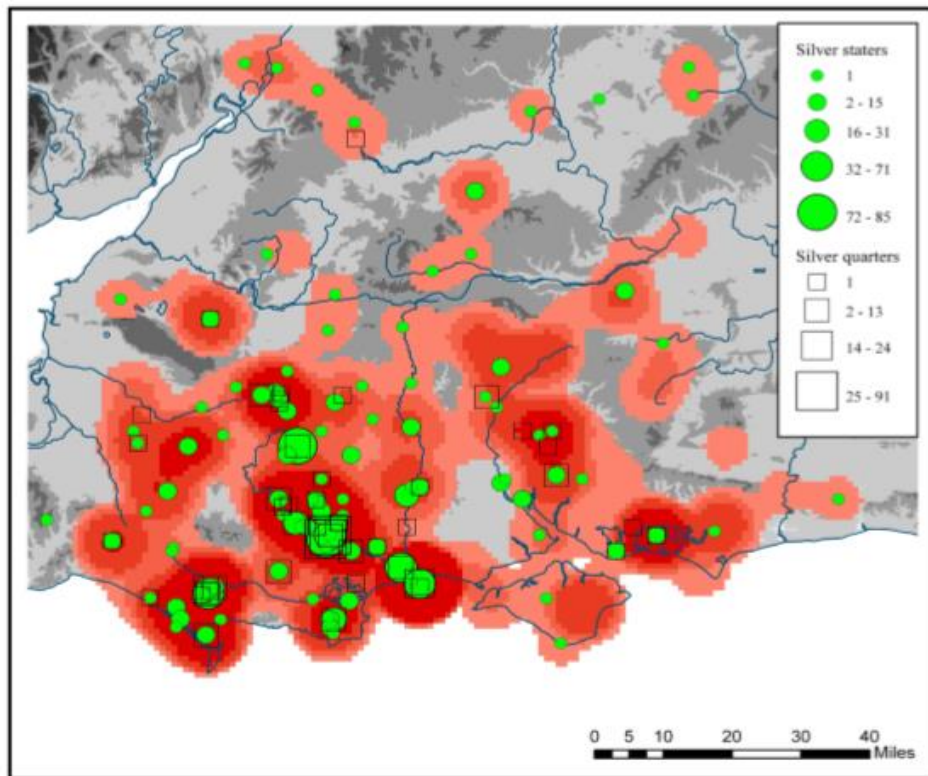
¹¹⁶ Fitzpatrick & Megaw (1987) 437.

¹¹⁷ Mays (1984) 87.

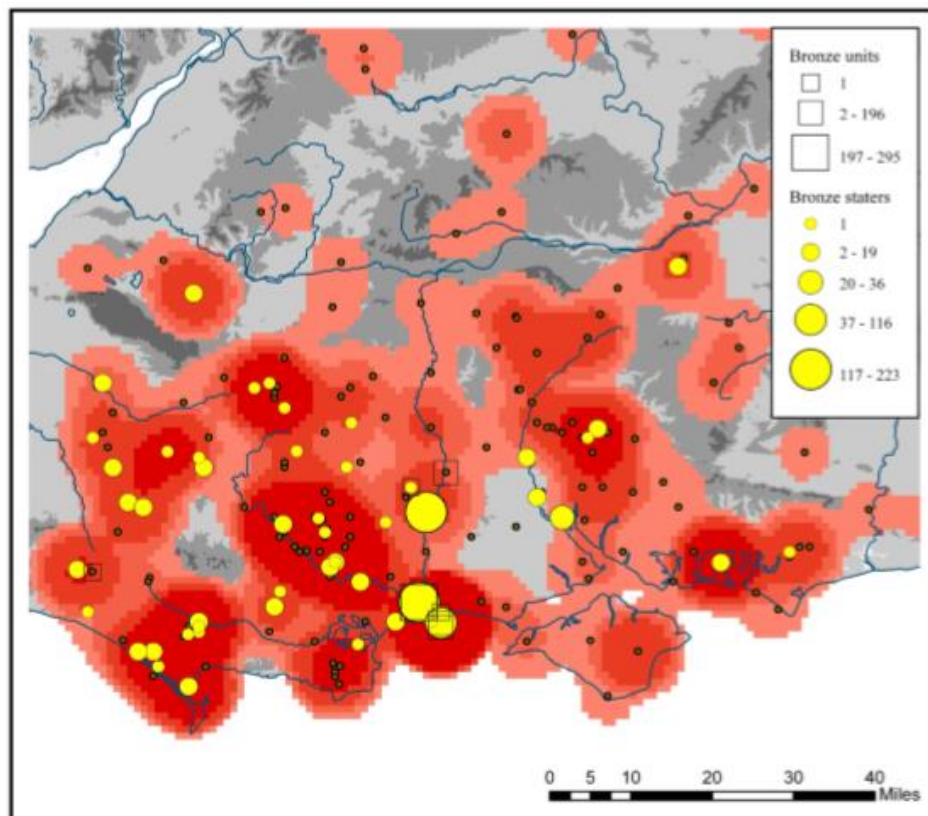
¹¹⁸ Mays (1984) 88.

¹¹⁹ Mays (1984) 88.

¹²⁰ Mays (1984) 89.



Map 4.4: Heatmap of the distribution of South-West silver staters (Leins (2012) 149, fig. 4.66).



Map 4.5: Heatmap of the distribution of South-West debased silver and bronze staters (Leins (2012) 150, fig. 4.67).

Mays' dating scheme was the first to properly examine the South-West British coins and should be commended, particularly as the coins are difficult to date. However, Mays' dating is in vital need of a modern critique. The Câtillon I hoard only contained 12 examples of South-West British coins, so any conclusions are extrapolated from a small number of specimens. Additionally, coin wear is an inappropriate tool for dating, as the level of wear is dependent on circumstances rather than a direct tool for measuring time: coins rubbed together in a purse could swiftly show extensive wear even if they were not regularly used in exchange.¹²¹ Coin wear can also be confused with die wear, the latter of which indicates high levels of production, but not necessarily circulation.¹²² The coin wear evidence for Iron Age coins is even more problematic, as coin wear is usually used as a measure of repeated use, often in a monetary sense, and a monetary role has yet to be deemed certain for Iron Age coins.¹²³ The biggest issue, however, is the use of the Câtillon I hoard itself: only three hoards in Armorica contained South-West British coins, one of the others being the Câtillon II hoard.¹²⁴ The appearance of South-West British coins in the Armorican context of the Câtillon I hoard was a major outlier and should not be taken as the norm.

South-West British coins appeared alongside Roman coins in a number of hoards dating to after the Claudian invasion. I have dated hoards by their latest issue, so these hoards do not form part of my dataset, but their existence has implications for the dating of the South-West British coins. Each *terminus post quem* of these hoards was decades and in some cases centuries apart from one another (Table 4.2). Their appearance in hoards was only intermittent, suggesting that they were not part of regular circulation. Additionally, the association between Roman and Iron Age coins is not certain in a number of the hoards in the table below (Fordingbridge and Hengistbury Head), so it is probable that the number of post-Claudian invasion hoards is inflated. The Iron Age coins in these South-West British Coast hoards were usually the most debased issues: by this period, the most debased coins had long driven the gold and silver from circulation, and their availability would have been limited. Alternatively, these later debased issues were produced in greater numbers than earlier issues, increasing their accessibility in the Roman period.

¹²¹ Sills (2017) 699.

¹²² Sills (2017) 724.

¹²³ Duncan-Jones (1994) 20.

¹²⁴ Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives is the other, but the relationship of the South-West British coin to the hoard is unconfirmed.

| Name | Terminating date | Terminating issues | Notes |
|-----------------------------|------------------|---|--|
| Donhead St Mary (Wiltshire) | AD 80-200 | South-West billon, no Roman coins | Terminating date based on hoard container (pot) |
| Downton (Wiltshire) | AD 154-155 | Antoninus Pius, RIC III.934 | |
| Fordingbridge (Hampshire) | AD 321-323 | Constantine I, local imitations, data not available on type | Association between Roman and Iron Age coins uncertain |
| Hengistbury Head (Dorset) | AD 154-155 | Antoninus Pius, RIC III.64a or 64c | See below for details on hoard |
| Holdenhurst (Hampshire) | AD 117-138 | Hadrian, RIC 669c, or a possible Trajan, data not available on type | |
| Owermoigne (Dorset) | AD 41-54 | Claudian, RIC I ² , 92, 94 and 99 | |
| Timsbury (Hampshire) | AD 86 | Domitian, data not available on type | |

Table 4.2: Hoards that contained both South-West British and post-Claudian invasion coins (de Jersey (2014) 98-109, no. 38; 110, no. 41; 167-169, no. 100; 171-179, no. 103; 186-187, no. 111, 417-418, no. 279; 418-419, no. 280).

These seven hoards alone are not enough to determine that South-West British coins circulated after the Roman conquest of Britain, as a similar number of hoards from other regions were hoarded alongside 2nd century AD Roman coins. The Toutencourt hoard in Belgic Gaul contained a Gallo-Belgic C stater from the period 200-61 BC, three staters from 60-20 BC, three aurei dating to the 1st century AD and a Hadrian aureus.¹²⁵ Likewise, other hoards were present in Belgic Gaul that contained Iron Age coins and Roman coins dating up to the 2nd (Courbehave) or 4th (Lleusaint) centuries, and one hoard of Iron Age coins was even found in a 7th century AD pot (Châteaudun).¹²⁶ No one has suggested that Iron Age coinage in Belgic Gaul continued to circulate or were produced for such a long period, as the evidence is too limited. The comparable number of hoards of Roman and South-West British coinage is therefore not enough to imply that South-West British coins had a significant role after the Roman conquest of Britain. Iron Age coins had some use within Roman contexts throughout the region under study, but this does not mean that they were produced or circulated in the Roman period. The Roman hoards that contained South-West British coins were also scattered more widely (Table 4.2) than the concentration of hoards that contained only South-West British coins, as the latter predominantly were deposited in Dorset. These later hoards therefore do not match the distribution patterns of the hoards of the period under study, and thus should be considered a separate phenomenon.

¹²⁵ Redjeb (2012) 723, no. 766

¹²⁶ Ollagnier, Joly & Provost (1994) 196, no. 143, 296, no. 343; Griffisch, Magnan & Mordant (2008) 624, no. 251.

I do not think that the 1st century AD date for the South-West British coins is sustainable. Up to ten hoards contained both South-West British and Armorican staters.¹²⁷ The number of associations between these two groups of coins is more common than that of South-West British coins and Roman coins, suggesting that the reason for the deposition of debased staters on both sides of the Western Channel is related, and thus they come from the same chronological time frame. In this sense, it is probable that the South-West British coins were debased in response to Caesar's invasion; this was the case for the Armorican coins, and as Armorica and the South-West British Coast had a relationship, Caesar's invasion would have had implications for Britain. It is difficult to judge whether this response was immediate or delayed (i.e. during or after the Gallic Wars), but the date range 60-20 BC covers all eventualities. It is doubtful that the Iron Age coinage of the Western Channel continued to be produced beyond this period; I discuss in detail in the Silver Corridor chapter (7) how the coins of every other coin-producing region in Britain transformed in the late first century BC and early 1st century AD, with new denominations and/or a greater variety of iconography, yet the South-West British Coast coinage remained stagnant and, aside from debasement, no major changes occurred amongst the coinage. While it is possible the communities who produced these coins were traditionalists, this would be in opposition to the rest of Britain, so a better explanation is that coin production had ceased. The only possible examples of the late circulation of South-West British coins were cast staters distributed in the Hengistbury Head region, but these coins circulated in only a small area and their dating remains questionable. I thus suspect that the debasement of the South-West British coinage, similar to the Armorican coinage, occurred over a shorter period than has previously been believed.

It is often difficult to determine whether South-West staters were silver or bronze, because there is no easy distinction between the levels of ongoing debasement.¹²⁸ The same is true for the Armorican coins, and thus they are referred to as billon coins in most publications and this thesis follows suit.¹²⁹ The distinction between more or less debased coins is subjective and thus separating the hoards by metal would be inappropriate, so all South-West British staters have been placed in the 60-20 BC range. I recognise that some scholars

¹²⁷ Barton-on-Sea, Bembridge, Bere Regis?, le Câtillon I & II, Down Ground, Freshwater Bay, Mount Batten I?, Ringwood II, Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives?.

¹²⁸ E.g. Bere Regis.

¹²⁹ E.g. Colbert de Beaulieu (1955b); Gruel (1989a); de Jersey (1994); Nieto-Pelletier, Aubry & Menez (2014).

may wish to retain the distinction between silver and bronze, so for those staters where prior scholars have suspected that they are of the later, most debased staters, I have identified them as bronze staters in my maps and figures.

A final issue is the dating of the Solent gold staters that appeared in many (27) hoards in the Western Channel.¹³⁰ Their iconography is similar to South-West British staters, but their distribution differs and they were higher in gold content.¹³¹ De Jersey dates these coins to 50-20 BC as the coins were commonly found in coin hoards and the majority of coin hoards date to this period, whereas Haselgrove theorises that they predated 60 BC owing to the similar iconography of the Solent and Gallo-Belgic C staters.¹³² The latter date is based on Burnett and Cowell's examination of the Whitchurch hoard, which was thought to have contained worn Solent staters and unworn (wartime) Gallo-Belgic E, leading to the suspicion the former predated the war.¹³³ However, in fact the Solent staters were not worn themselves, but were the product of a worn die, and were in fact nearly unused, leading Sills to suspect they date to approximately the same period.¹³⁴ The wear on the die implies a need to produce many coins quickly, suggesting a response to a crisis, and Caesar's invasion of Armorica and its impact on the entirety of the Western Channel would be a probable causation. This increases the likelihood that at least some of the Solent staters date to the Gallic Wars period.

A close analysis of the hoards in my dataset may be able to solve this debate. The Solent gold staters were often hoarded alongside other coins and in these hoards, if one were to remove the Solent coins, the *terminus post quem* almost always dates the hoard to after 60 BC (Graph 4.2).¹³⁵ While it could be argued that this is due to the low production of coins in the Western Channel in 200-61 BC (hence there would have been few other coins for the Solent coins to be hoarded with), the few hoards that contained Solent coins in the Eastern

¹³⁰ Andover II, Ashurst, Blandford, Bowerchalke, le Câtillon I, Cheriton, Chute I, II & III, Danebury, Donhead St Andrew, Down Ground, Durley, Fareham, Hurstbourne Tarrant, Portchester, Ringwood I, Shapwick, Shorwell, Tarrant Valley I, Tisbury, Upham, Upton, Vernham Dean, Whitchurch I & II/III, Wickham.

¹³¹ Leins (2012) 126, fig 4.45, 147, fig 4.64

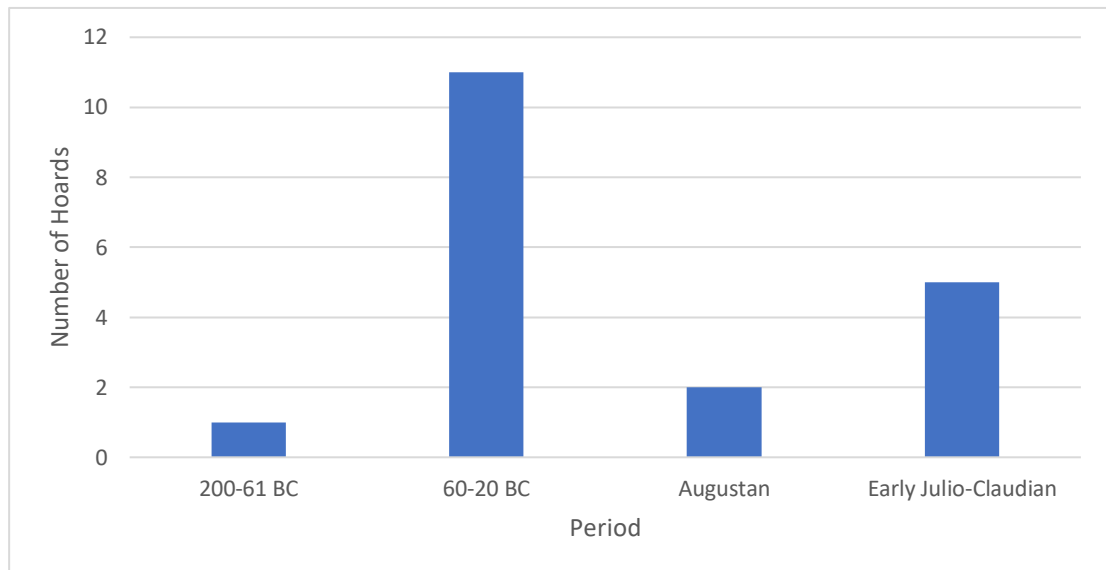
¹³² Haselgrove (1993) 35, table 1; de Jersey (2014) 18.

¹³³ Burnett & Cowell (1988) 8.

¹³⁴ Sills (2017) 724. A further indication that coin wear is a difficult tool to use for dating.

¹³⁵ de Jersey (2014) 18.

Channel, which had a large number of coins in 200-61 BC, likewise also date to after 60 BC.¹³⁶ The Solent coins seemingly date to after 60 BC and thus have been given a 60-20 BC date.



Graph 4.2: Terminating date of hoards from the Eastern and Western Channel that contained Solent gold types (not including the Solent types themselves).¹³⁷

It is because the dating of the Western Channel coins is so imprecise that such broad date ranges are utilised in this thesis. More accurate dating is near impossible due to a lack of findspots with contexts. There are exceptions, such as the small number of debased silver Armorican coins that appeared in the hillforts of Le Camp d'Artus and le Châtellier, which were possibly abandoned shortly after their gates had burnt down.¹³⁸ Their destruction has been associated with Caesar's invasion, although the argument is somewhat cyclical: the coins date the site to the Gallic Wars, but the dating of the coins to the Gallic Wars is supported by their presence within these Gallic Wars era sites.¹³⁹ The dating of coins remains relative: while the order of production can be identified, no definitive dating can occur. The current best estimates are utilised for this thesis.

¹³⁶ Hambledon, Havant, Marks Tey II, Selsey.

¹³⁷ 200-61 BC: Andover II. 60-20 BC: Blandford, le Câtillon II, Donhead St Andrew, Hambledon, Havant, Portchester, Shapwick, Shorwell, Tisbury, Upham, Whitchurch I & II/III. Augustan: Downground, Upton. Early Julio-Claudian: Bowerchalke, Danebury, Hurstbourne Tarrant, Marks Tey II, Selsey.

¹³⁸ Wheeler & Richardson (1957) 31, 42.

¹³⁹ Wheeler & Richardson (1957) 39-40.

4.6: Hoard Contexts

| Context | South-West British Coast | | | | | Armorica | | | | |
|--|--------------------------|----------|----------|----------------------|-------|-----------|----------|----------|----------------------|-------|
| Date | 200-61 BC | 60-20 BC | Augustan | Early Julio-Claudian | Total | 200-61 BC | 60-20 BC | Augustan | Early Julio-Claudian | Total |
| Settlement site (hillfort) | | 2 | | 1 | 3 | | 4 | | | 4 |
| Settlement site (port) | | 1 | | | 1 | | 1 | | | 1 |
| Possible sanctuary or <i>fanum</i> | | 1 | | | 1 | | 1 | | | 1 |
| Tumulus | | | | | 0 | | 2 | | | 2 |
| Megaliths | | | | | 0 | | 2 | | | 2 |
| Beach or cliff deposit | | 1 | | | 1 | | | | | 0 |
| Near signs of metalworking | | 2 | | | 2 | | 2 | | | 2 |
| Close to isolated finds of IA or Roman pottery | | 4 | | | 4 | | 1 | | | 1 |
| Total | 0 | 11 | 0 | 1 | 12 | 0 | 13 | 0 | 0 | 13 |

Table 4.3: Contexts of hoards in the Western Channel.

Known hoard contexts are exceptionally rare across the Western Channel despite the large number of coin hoards (198) in the region. This is at least partially the result of the poor excavation of hoards, as many were found prior to the 20th century at a time when recording was limited, but even site finds of coins are rare in the Western Channel.¹⁴⁰

However, a number of hoards have determinable contexts. Several hoards appear close to or within Iron Age settlement sites (Table 4.3). The large number of coins in the hoards close to some of these sites, some of which are in the thousands, indicates that perhaps these coins enjoyed use on these sites in extensive numbers.¹⁴¹ However, the finds of hoards, and indeed single finds of coins, at such sites is rare, so large-scale coin use on sites is difficult to trace in the Western Channel, with the exception of a few sanctuary sites in Armorica (e.g. Allones, Trougouzel).¹⁴² Four of the large settlement site hoards in Armorica were found on Jersey, an island whose population would doubtfully have been large

¹⁴⁰ Wheeler & Richardson (1957); Haselgrove & Mays (2000); Gruel, Matterne & Villard (2003) 37; Martin, François & Lorho (2016) 38.

¹⁴¹ Le Câtillon I & II, Rannée.

¹⁴² Gruel (1991); Gruel, Matterne & Villard (2003) 37.

enough to use the large number of coins deposited, hence the use of coins at sites in the Western Channel cannot be easily supported by hoards.¹⁴³

In Armorica, a few of these settlement sites had signs of metalworking, leading to the possibility that the coins were deposited close to their production site. Hengistbury Head may have been a British equivalent. This is based on the following evidence:

- an ingot found on site made up of small proportion of gold (1-20 %) and about equal amounts of copper and silver, a figure that roughly corresponds to some of the silver-rich South-West staters.¹⁴⁴
- Cupellation hearths, designed for extracting silver, were found on site, and it is possibly this silver could also have been intended for coins.¹⁴⁵
- possible silver coin flans appeared on site.¹⁴⁶
- South-West cast bronze staters are only found in the vicinity of Hengistbury Head, suggesting the coins were produced on this site.¹⁴⁷

However, with the exception of this evidence, there is little sign of coin production on sites in the Western Channel.¹⁴⁸

Two hoards were discovered at Hengistbury Head, but only the smaller, more recent hoard is part of the dataset. The majority of coins in the smaller hoard were recorded from trade, so no contextual information is known.¹⁴⁹ The larger hoard was found at a specific location (site 33) and consisted of thousands of local, cast issues.¹⁵⁰ The larger hoard may or may not have been intermixed with Roman coins, and perhaps was a post-Claudian invasion deposit, and has not been included in the dataset for that reason.¹⁵¹ It is possible that the coins were the gathered remnants of site finds rather than a hoard.¹⁵² If the contents represent site finds, it suggests that cast, highly debased staters at some point dominated

¹⁴³ Le Câtillon I, II & III, Trinity III.

¹⁴⁴ Cunliffe (1978) 40; Northover (1992) 284.

¹⁴⁵ Cunliffe (1978) 41-42.

¹⁴⁶ de Jersey (2014) 108, no.38

¹⁴⁷ Mays (1984) 87.

¹⁴⁸ de Jersey (2016) 167.

¹⁴⁹ de Jersey (2014) 109.

¹⁵⁰ de Jersey (1997) 107; (2014) 98-109, no. 38.

¹⁵¹ Cunliffe (1978) 44; Mays (1984) 90; Haselgrove (1987) 16; de Jersey (2014) 98-109, no. 38.

¹⁵² de Jersey (2014) 37.

the coins in use, but there is no evidence to indicate when this domination might have occurred. Perhaps this high level of debasement allowed the coins to function as small bronze coins did in Iron Age communities elsewhere, such as in Gallic *oppida*, perhaps serving as a means of undertaking low value transactions.¹⁵³ Armorican coins of 60-20 BC appeared in this hoard as well, suggesting cross-Channel movements at this time. The difficulties in dating the deposit and understanding whether indeed it was a hoard makes it hard to situate in the wider hoarding landscape. Nevertheless, it provides a contrast to the use of South-West British coins on other sites, which are rarely found in numbers greater than 15.¹⁵⁴

In Armorica several hoards are associated with Bronze Age tumuli (Plemuer-Bodou, Saint-Briac-sur-Mer) and megalithic standing stones (Saint Helier I & II and Saint Martin).¹⁵⁵ This could be suggestive of the use of coinage in the veneration of ancestors, but in reality, the poor and early recording of these hoards (which were discovered throughout the 18th and 19th centuries) may be responsible for the association of coins with these ancient sites. Iron Age coins finds were often associated with springs in early archaeology, as ancient textual accounts described these locations as serving as religious sites for Iron Age people.¹⁵⁶ However, in many cases the proximity between the objects and the nearby spring was by no means certain.¹⁵⁷ It is Sauer's contention that in many cases the obsession with springs led to a misrepresentation of the archaeological evidence, and I propose that it may be the same case here.¹⁵⁸ The 17th to 18th century scholars Aubrey and Stukeley were keen to attribute Druidic involvement to Mesolithic monuments that were constructed thousands of years before the first mention of Druids.¹⁵⁹ Nevertheless, these scholars encouraged a belief that these monuments and Iron Age religion were linked. The sources describing the hoards as deposited near the standing stones may have been the result of this bias: the finder believed the coins should be connected to the standing stones, even if there was no connection. This can be seen in the Jullouville hoard in the Manche *département* (not

¹⁵³ Haselgrove (1979) 206.

¹⁵⁴ Haselgrove & Mays (2000) 249, fig 125.

¹⁵⁵ de Jersey (1994) 164, no. 139. Saint Martin is not included in the dataset, as not enough details exist about the coins.

¹⁵⁶ Caesar, *Gallie Wars*, 6.17; Strabo, *Geography*, 4.1.13; Sauer (2005) 104.

¹⁵⁷ Sauer (2005) 104.

¹⁵⁸ Sauer (2005) 104.

¹⁵⁹ Caesar, *Gallie Wars*, 6.13-6.14; Aubrey (1663-1693); Stukeley (1724). See Piggott (1968) for discussion of Druids.

included in the dataset due to its limited information). The hoard was recorded as found around “a sacrificial stone” used by Druids, suggesting that those who discovered the objects had their own preconceptions regarding the relationship between the coins and nearby prehistoric structures.¹⁶⁰ Therefore, the association of coins to these sites is doubtful, particularly given more recently discovered hoards and excavations of such sites have not shown the same trends.

The Saint-Jean-Trolimon hoard is the only hoard in this study to be dated by evidence other than coins. Despite containing coins dating to 60-20 BC, the hoard is allocated to the Augustan period. Burying coins alongside the deceased is believed to have been a Roman tradition, with few Iron Age burials containing any objects of precious metals, hence Gallic coins found in burials are considered a Gallo-Roman phenomenon.¹⁶¹ This cannot be confirmed for this hoard, as the other objects within (swords and pottery) are of the iron Age, but it is on the site of a Roman sanctuary, thus its allocation to the Augustan period is done only tenuously.¹⁶² This is the only funerary context for Armorican hoards, so its importance should not be overstated. The hoard contained a gold stater and three *petits billons armoricains*. The mix of these particular denominations is not unusual, but such a composition tends to occur in larger deposits. The context of the deposit may have resulted in the mix of different denominations in such a small hoard.

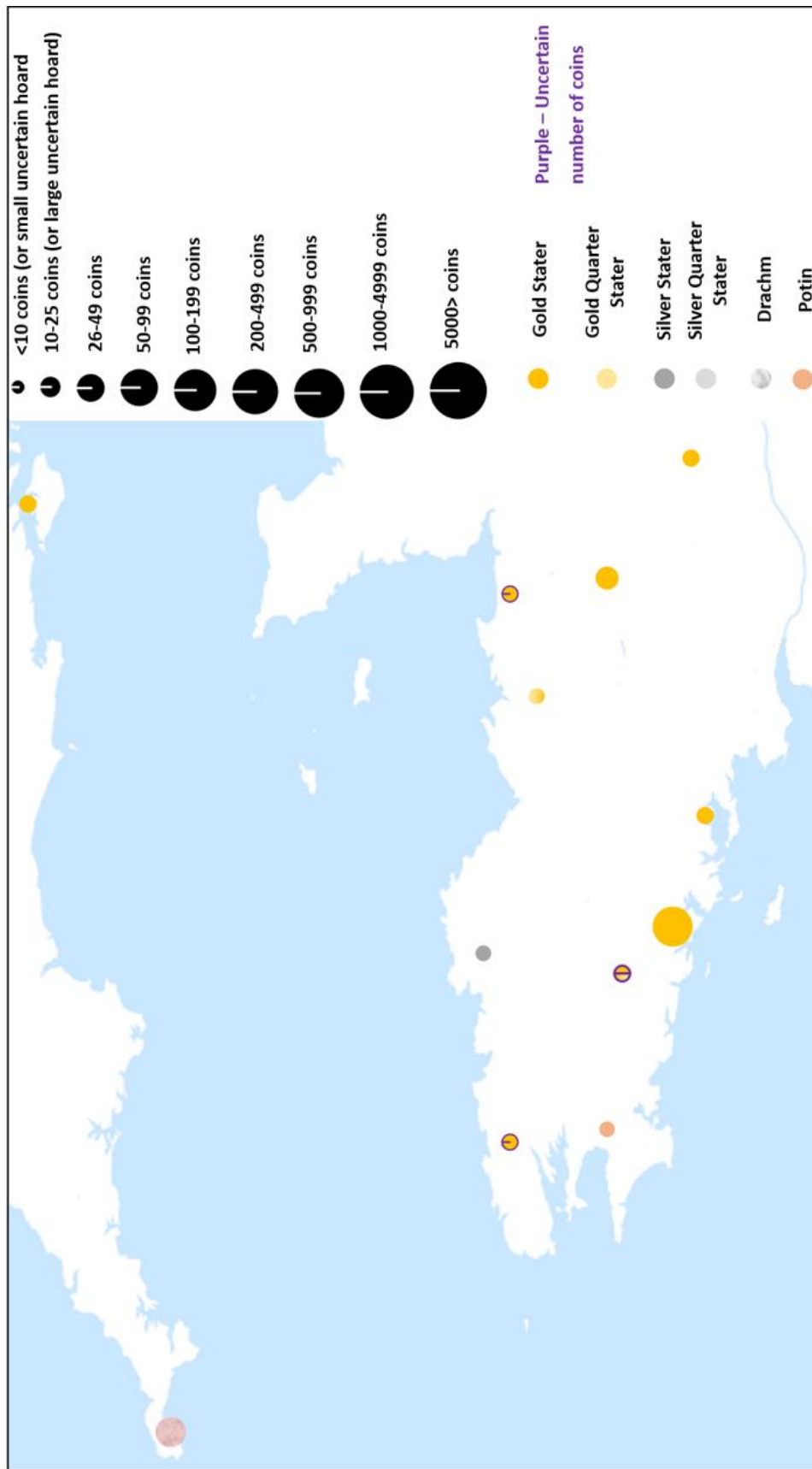
4.7: Hoards of Coins Dating to 200-61 BC

Having examined the complexities surrounding the Western Channel coinage, the hoarding patterns of each period will now be explored. The 200-61 BC period in the Western Channel is defined by a group of small hoards scattered throughout Armorica (Map 4.6). Indigenous coinage had yet to appear on the South-West British Coast, yet there is evidence of the hoarding of non-local coins, including those from Armorica. Even prior to the appearance of hoards of British coinage in the Western Channel, there were still signs of an early relationship with the coinage.

¹⁶⁰ Desroches (1838) 31.

¹⁶¹ Haselgrove (1987) 122; Howgego (2013) 33.

¹⁶² Blanchet (1905) 529-530; Colbert de Beaulieu (1955a) 172; Galliou (2010) 421, no. 252.





Map 4.7: Hoards in the Western Channel allocated to 200-61 BC. Created by author using Antiquity À-la-carte.

The 200-61 BC period is characterised by a notable number of hoards in Armorica, but few discernible geographic patterns. The only exception is that hoards were clustered along the coast, with few inland hoards (Map 4.7). Proximity to the sea provided access to the resources to manufacture coins, as well as providing access to new goods, which would have required an exchange network to facilitate their movement. Coinage would have been beneficial in this regard. The lack of a concentration of hoards contrasts with the 60-20 BC period, and suggests that the hoards of this period were not a collective action in response to a single event, but intermittent depositions and failed attempts to retrieve hoards, caused by individual circumstances.

The vast majority of hoards in Armorica in this period were comprised of gold staters, and they also tended to be small, with only the Rennes III and Hennebont hoard containing more than ten coins. This is comparable to hoards in Belgic Gaul in 200-61 BC, suggesting both the Eastern and Western sides of the Channel had similar sizes of hoards. Despite the difficulties in dating Armorican coins, the similar hoarding patterns to other regions in 200-61 BC suggests that the dating used in this thesis is broadly accurate. The few hoards in this period may be reflective of lower coin production and thus availability compared to the wartime period, where it is suspected that many more coins were produced (4.5).

Few hoards can be allocated to the South-West British Coast in this period and the hoards contained issues only from beyond the region. Coin production either did not begin or had only just begun on the South-West British Coast at this time, so this is to be expected. However, it is surprising that Gallo-Belgic coins from the Eastern Channel, despite entering the area as single finds and eventually forming the prototype of the later indigenous issues, were absent from the hoards of this period.¹⁶³ While I recognise that some, or even all, of these single finds may have been hoards in their own right due to the value of a single gold stater, there seems to have been some difficulty (or no need due to the high value of a single stater) in obtaining the coins in number. The lack of hoarded Gallo-Belgic coins in South-West Britain is paralleled in Armorica. This demonstrates that there was a significant divide between the coinages of both sides (east and west) of the Channel.

The Gurnard Bay hoard on the Isle of Wight consisted of only three Armorican issues, attributed to the Veneti, and were originally produced on the southern coast of Armorica. The hoard is the earliest sign of a connection in coinage between the South-West British Coast and Armorica. The possible attribution of these coins to the Veneti is relevant in light of their supposed importance in cross-Channel trade, but Veneti coins were rare in later hoards from the South-West British Coast, so the significance of their origin should not be overstated. This hoard was not on the mainland; the Isle of Wight, which perhaps served as a stopping-off point or redistribution node for the south coast, would have been exposed to greater influence from the continent, hence the island may have gained access to Armorican coins before the mainland.¹⁶⁴ This one hoard alone is not enough evidence to support this, but the peculiarity of the hoarding patterns of islands is demonstrated later in this chapter (4.8.3), so the location of a hoard here, but not on the mainland, perhaps reflects the impact of an island context upon hoards. Hoarding in Dorset and Hampshire, where hoarding was commonplace in the 60-20 BC period, was unknown in this period, suggesting coin hoarding was predominantly a later phenomenon of the region.

The only other hoard on the South-West British Coast in 200-61 BC was the Paul hoard. Its contents were the result of a 1909 collection that was obtained from an unnamed woman

¹⁶³ Leins (2012) 74, fig 4.1.

¹⁶⁴ Trott & Tomalin (2003) 163.

who allegedly had found the hoard two years earlier in a nearby field.¹⁶⁵ The contents were 43 North Italian drachmae, imitating Massalian issues. The presence of this hoard in Cornwall, where few other hoards have been discovered, and the presence of North Italian drachmae, which were not found in any other hoard in my dataset, leads to doubts that this was a valid hoard.¹⁶⁶ Its homogenous composition differed from later hoards in Cornwall: in the 60-20 BC period, the Penzance I and the Carn Brea hoards contained a range of types from the Eastern Channel and from central Gaul. This implies depositors in Iron Age Cornwall had access to or specifically hoarded a variety of coins from long-distance contacts (although not as far as Italy). The lack of diversity in the Paul hoard is suspect and suggests that it was part of a modern collection of carefully selected issues. The only other homogenous hoard in Cornwall is the later Padstow hoard, but this contained only two coins from Western Britain, and is not certainly a hoard, so it is not strong enough evidence to support the existence of the Paul hoard. If the Paul hoard is genuine (unlikely), the tin trade may have been responsible.¹⁶⁷ However, given the weakness of the evidence related to its recovery it remains of doubtful provenance.

Meanwhile in Armorica, two distribution patterns can be observed; a cluster of hoards in the west and a cluster of hoards in the east. The cluster of hoards in the west is partially the result of developments in modern scholarship, as Abollivier's dating of the coins attributed to the Osismii, the tribe located in this region, is the only focused study to extensively date an entire Armorican tribe's coins.¹⁶⁸ The lack of other, in-depth studies of Armorican coins prevents a more detailed dating of coins from other parts of Armorica, which may have resulted in my study placing the majority of the coins in the 60-20 BC period even though it is possible that they dated earlier. The west of Armorica may have no more hoards than any other part of Armorica in this period, but the limitations of current scholarship means that this cannot yet be detected. Bearing this in mind, the number of hoards in this part of Armorica is not overwhelming, with only four Osismii hoards attributed to this period based on Abollivier's dating.¹⁶⁹ It is certainly not comparable to the

¹⁶⁵ de Jersey (2014) 88, no. 26.

¹⁶⁶ Allen (1961) 101, fig 2; Portable Antiquities Scheme.

¹⁶⁷ Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History*, 5.22; Allen (1961) 100.

¹⁶⁸ Abollivier (2008).

¹⁶⁹ Le Faouët, Locronan, Saint-Méen, Tonquédec.

60-20 BC picture of the region (see Map 4.8), suggesting that the limited number of hoards in this period was a historical reality.

The cluster in the east is more unusual. The hoards contained a range of coins attributed to different political entities, such as the Aulerici Cenomani (Plélan-le-Petit), Redones (Rennes III) and Veneti (Pruillé).¹⁷⁰ With the exception of the Pruillé hoard, they were deposited within the area immediately south of the island of Jersey. This region has a large number of hoards in 60-20 BC, so similar to the Osismii hoards in the west, the hoards in this period are located where later hoarding occurs. It is possible that a few of these hoards may also have been deposited in 60-20 BC as part of the wider patterns occurring at the time but contained only earlier coins. Between these eastern and western hoarding clusters there was a gap where no hoards were present. Though the gap does decrease in size, it remains into the 60-20 BC period, suggesting that the distinction between east and west Armorican hoard patterns is significant throughout the study period. There are no geographical features that can explain this gap, so perhaps the two groups of hoards represent the regions of distribution of two or more separate mints or communities. This gap gradually becomes smaller as the coinage becomes more widespread and the number of mints increased.¹⁷¹

The two hoards in southern Armorica, the Hennebont and Vannes hoards, both contained coins attributed to the Veneti and are located in the region ascribed to them. The Hennebont hoard is the largest of this period. This may be the result of the accessibility to local coins and may also be related to the power of the Veneti. If they were the most powerful Armorican tribe, then perhaps they had the capability to produce gold coins in great numbers from an earlier period. It is, however, an outlier, so it cannot represent general trends, but it does show the possibility that coins were circulating in enough numbers in this period to be hoarded at scale, and that there was a purpose for doing so.

There is a distinct lack of non-stater denominations present in the Armorican hoards of 200-61 BC. Quarter staters seem to have been entirely absent from the hoards. While this

¹⁷⁰ The attribution of the Dol-de-Bretagne II coins is unknown.

¹⁷¹ Mints may have been more mobile and/or less centralised in Iron Age Europe.

could be the result of poor recording (antiquarian records tend to focus only on the larger denominations or do not specify the denominations found), the lack of lower denomination coins would seem to suggest that there was a preference for small hoards of high value coins. The only exception is the Locronan hoard, comprised of potins. This denomination was not produced in the Western Channel, so the finds here are all of examples from beyond Armorica.¹⁷² Potins were rare in Armorica, but not unknown, appearing at a number of later sanctuaries (Allones, Entrammes, Oisseau-le-Petit, Petit Mont d'Arzon).¹⁷³ However, their hoarding in Armorica is rare. These coins were not of a precious metal, nor did they bear similar iconography to the Armorican issues. Additionally, because the denomination was not produced within Armorica, their acceptability by the local population is doubtful. As a result, it is unlikely that they would have found a local role in Armorica, and the reason for the deposition of this hoard may have differed from hoards of Armorican coins. A votive explanation is a strong possibility given that the potins are more regularly found in sanctuaries, and while foreign coins may not have served well in a society that did not use such denominations, they could still have served as suitable offerings to gods who may not have been so discerning. The hoard consisted of coins from across central and southern Gaul, suggesting that either Armorica had connections to all these places, or, more probable given the limited number of other potin hoards in Armorica, the hoard was the result of a single transit of these coins from an individual who had moved across Gaul.

4.8: Hoards of Coins Dating to 60-20 BC

This section examines the impact of the destruction and political reorganisation wrought by Caesar's invasion and its immediate aftermath on the composition, volume and size of hoards in this period. This does not appear to have been a natural progression from the coin hoards of the previous period, and demonstrates Rome's disruption of coinage norms, not only in the invaded territory of Armorica, but on its British trading partner. A notable cross-Channel development in coin hoards is a phenomenon I identify as the Silver Corridor, a pattern of silver hoards that appears almost in parallel across Armorica and the South-West British Coast. Other significant findings are the almost complete dominance of

¹⁷² Cast coins were produced, such as the ones found at Hengistbury Head. They are based on stater designs, however, and do not have their own separate iconographic patterns, differing to the potins in the Eastern Channel. The Hengistbury Head cast staters should therefore not be considered as part of the wider potin phenomenon.

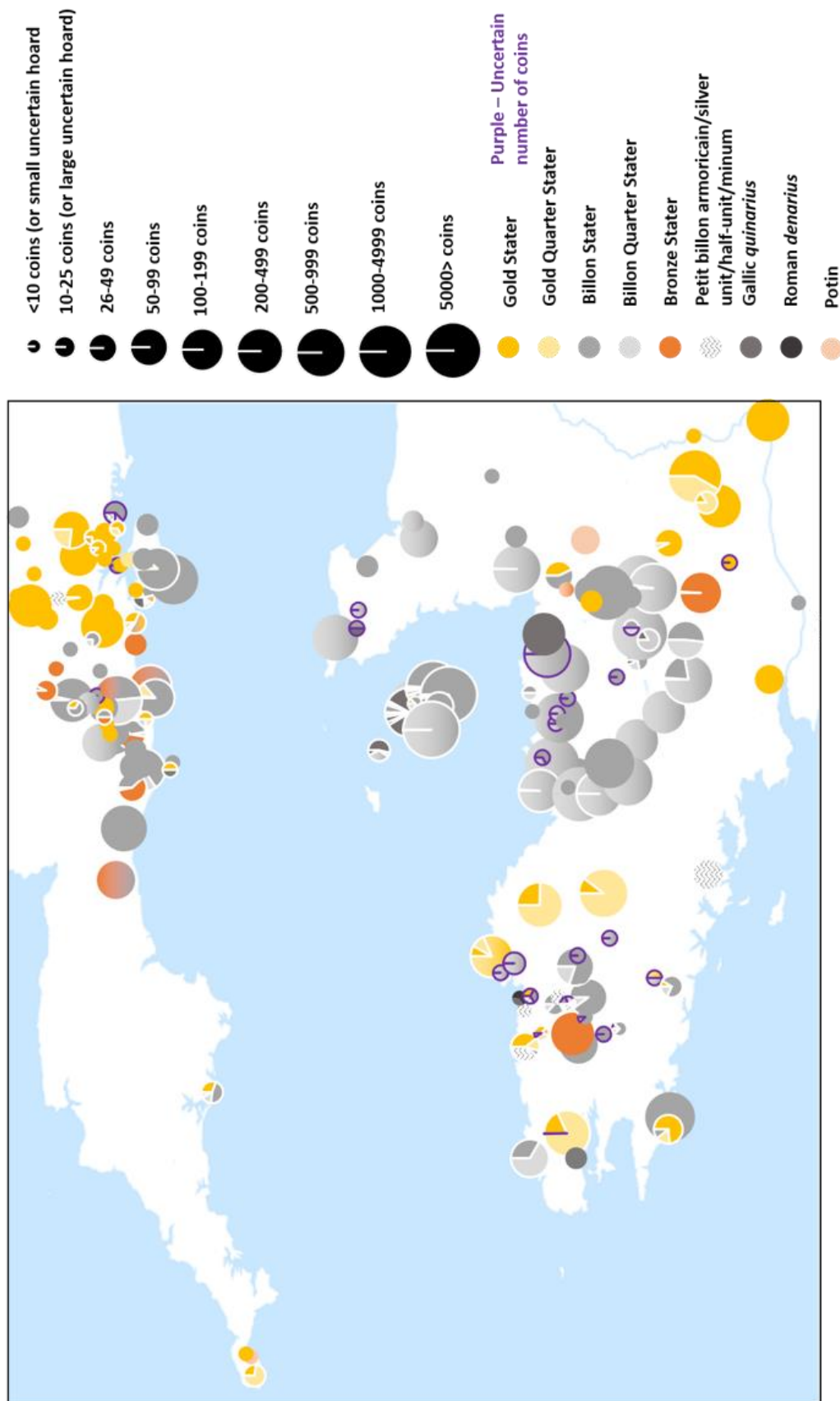
¹⁷³ Gruel (1991) 230-232.

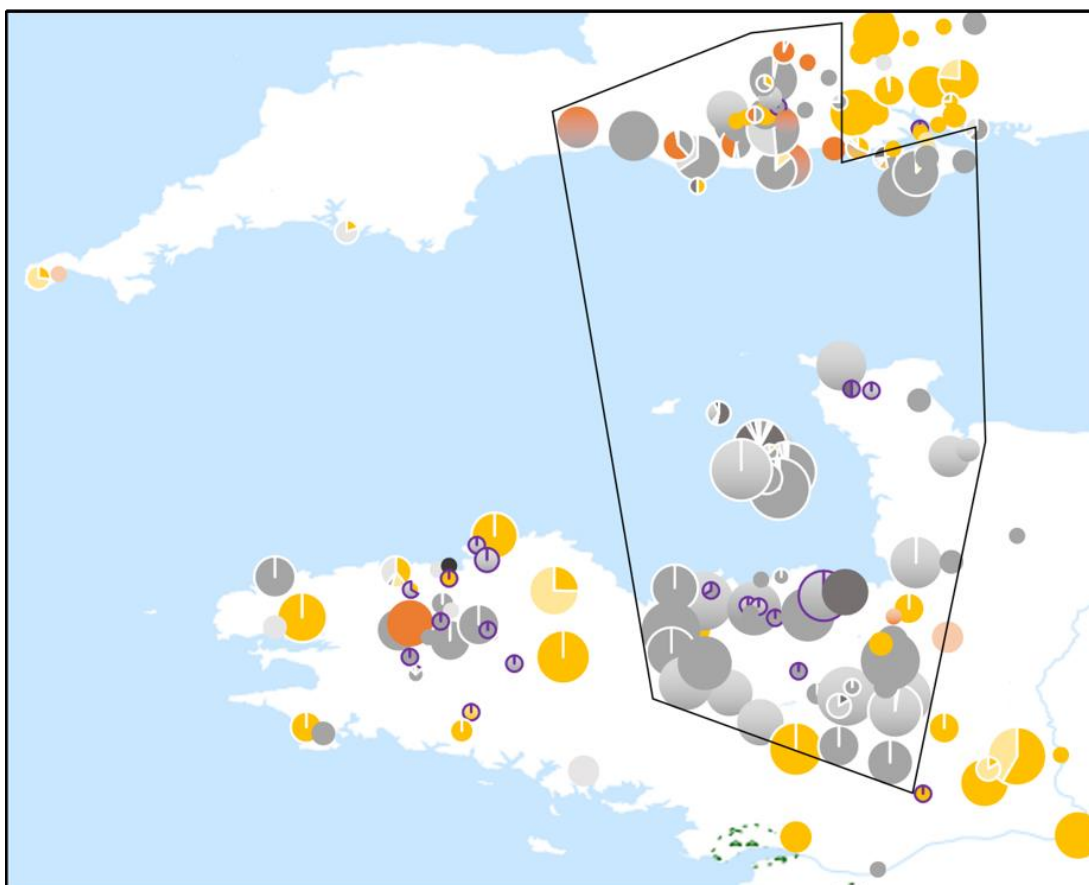
staters in the hoards and the oddity of coin hoards that appeared on islands; both trends were part of a cross-Channel relationship in coins and their hoards and are explored in detail. Finally, the lack of hoards in Cornwall and Devon is discussed, in order to identify why certain regions were not part of the cross-Channel development of coinage.

The vast majority of hoards consisted of staters (Map 4.8). There were concentrations of hoards in the west and east of Armorica and in the Dorset region. The islands of the Isle of Wight and Jersey had a high incidence of unusual hoards, yet on the nearby mainland to Jersey's east (the Manche *département*) and the other Channel Islands of Sark and Guernsey, coins hoards were sporadic in their distribution or non-existent. The dispersion of hoards in Armorica is further northward than in the previous period, with a great number of hoards in the interior as opposed to on the coast. Caesar's invasion did not just lead to more and bigger hoards; it led to a change in hoarding circumstances.

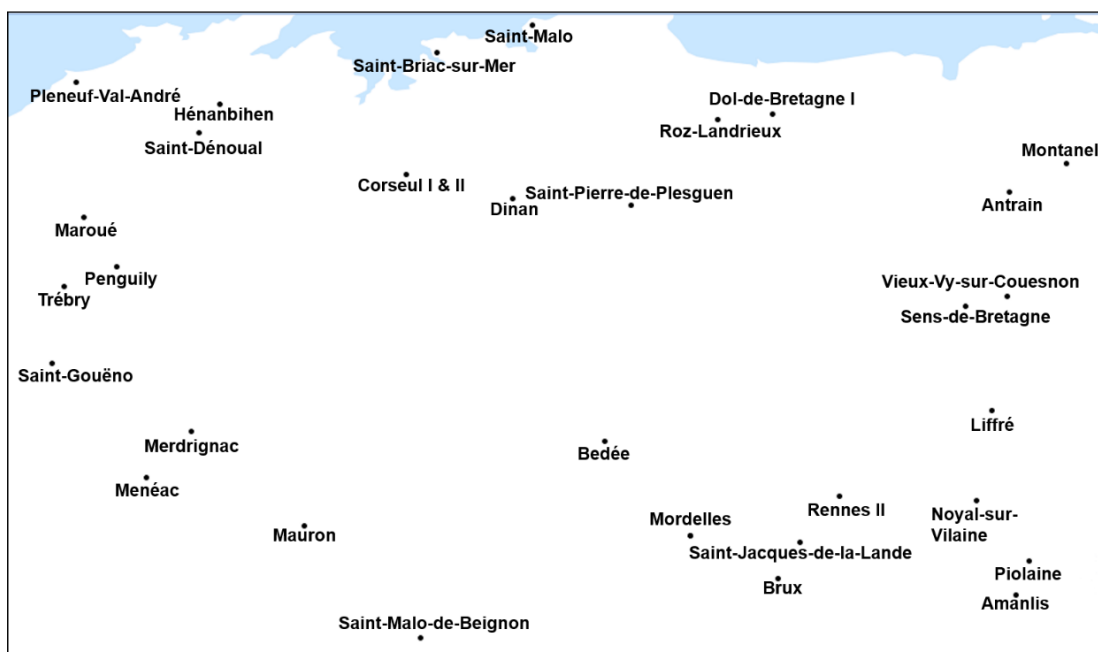
It has been noted that a connection exists between the billon coins of both Armorica and the South-West British Coast, but similarities in the coin hoards have not been considered.¹⁷⁴ Billon hoards dominated both Armorica and the South-West British Coast; a result of the extensive debasement in the Western Channel. A major pattern, however, has yet to be identified; the billon hoards of both regions were distributed almost parallel to one another across the Channel. Furthermore, the Channel Islands between the two regions likewise contained large billon hoards, creating an uninterrupted straight line of such hoards across the Channel (Maps 4.9-11). The line includes the Channel Islands, modern day Dorset and the French *départements* of Ille-et-Vilaine and Manche. It extends as far as Wiltshire and the Isle of Wight in the north and ends in the Pays de la Loire region in the south. Not only did these regions use the same denominations that underwent heavy debasement, but in both areas large hoards of these coins appear, in apparently the same period. I have termed this phenomenon the **Silver Corridor**. The term captures the metal content of the majority of the hoarded coins and the pattern that can be observed in a straight line across the Channel. As a major example of cross-Channel hoarding, the Silver Corridor necessitates exploration in-depth. As such, its implications are explored in chapter 7.

¹⁷⁴ Sills (2017) 257.





Map 4.9: The Silver Corridor of 60-20 BC. Created by author using Antiquity À-la-carte

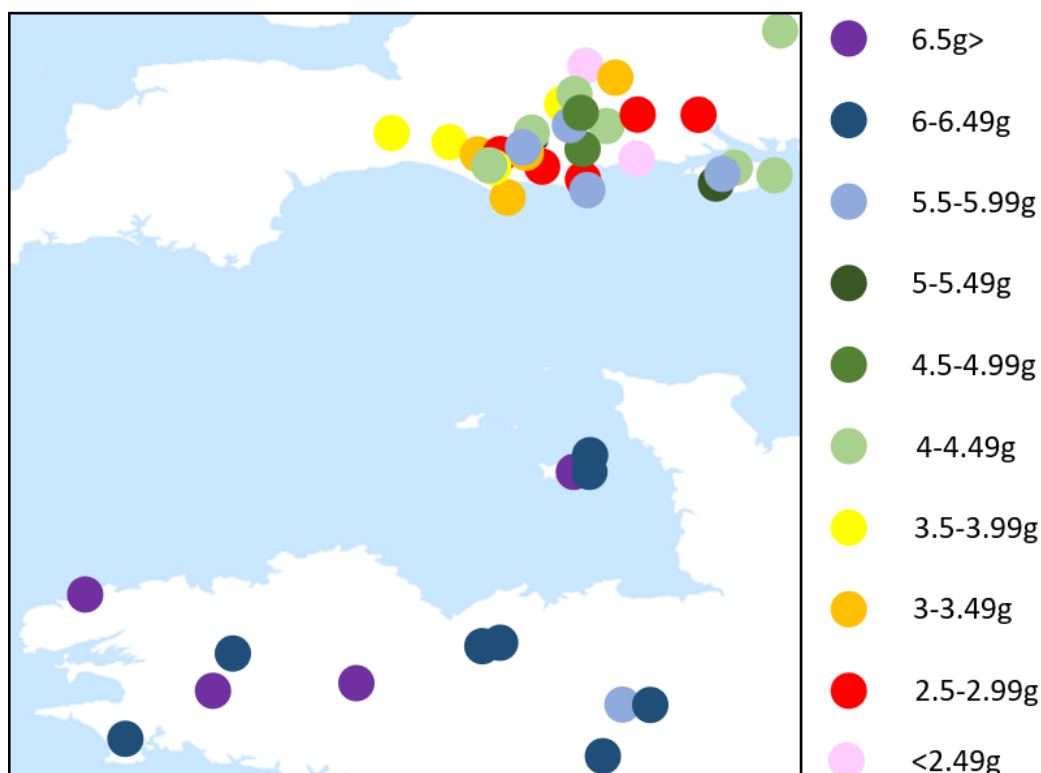


Map 4.10: Hoards of the Silver Corridor, southern tip, allocated to 60-20 BC. Created by author using Antiquity À-la-carte.



Map 4.11: Hoards of the Silver Corridor, northern tip, allocated to 60-20 BC. Created by author using Antiquity A-la-carte.

A slight deviation from the general pattern of billon coin hoards were the hoards of western Armorica. The hoards here also contained billon coins, but the hoards tended to be smaller than the hoards of the east and contained heavier or gold coins. The data on the weights of coins in hoards cannot be considered entirely reliable, particularly for Armorica. Few of its hoards have records that include weight data, and of those only a few sample coins were tested. Nevertheless, the majority of the weights of the coins in the Armorican hoards were recorded by the same individual (Colbert de Beaulieu), so one should expect some consistency in how the sample was chosen. Based on this limited sample, the Armorican hoards were fairly consistent in weight, although hoards in west Armorica tended to be slightly heavier (Map 4.12 represented by the dark blue and purple, Map 4.13) than those in east Armorica. Bearing in mind the addition of the inclusion of gold coins, the hoards in the west tended to include coins of higher intrinsic value, which may explain why the hoards were smaller; what they lacked in numbers, they made up for in the value of each coin. However, the distinction between the coin weights between east and west is hardly so great as to warrant such a difference in the size of the hoards. Rather than the hoards of the west and east being equivalent in value, it seems that the depositors of the east were driven towards hoarding a higher volume of coins, regardless of their value.



Map 4.12: Average weight of silver and bronze stater coins in tested hoards in the Western Channel, across all periods. Created by author using Antiquity À-la-carte.



Map 4.13: Western Armorican hoards allocated to 60-20 BC. Created by author using Antiquity À-la-carte.

In contrast to the fairly distinctive patterns of the weight data in Armorica and the comparable weight of Armorican staters, the South-West British staters varied greatly in weight and were hoarded in few discernible patterns. It must be acknowledged that the average weight of billon staters in South-West British Coast hoards is much lighter than

those in Armorica. The lower weight relates to the history of the coins. The original prototype of South-West British staters, the Gallo-Belgic C staters, weighed 6.3-7.3g.¹⁷⁵ After imitating these coins but prior to their debasement, South-West British staters were already of a similar weight to Armorican debased staters (Map 4.12), so once the debasement of South-West British staters began the weight of the coins was already starting from a lower level. The diversity in the weights may relate to the South-West British Coast debasement occurring over a long period, perhaps throughout the latter half of 1st century BC, hence there was greater variation in weight. Alternatively, minting may have been more decentralised, with different communities striking South-West British types, so the adherence to a specific weight standard was less uniform. Another factor is that the later South-West British coins contained higher levels of copper than many of the Armorican coins (Graph 4.1). Copper leaching may have occurred, resulting in the more debased coins decreasing in weight due to conditions in the ground, so the dramatically lighter weight of some of the coins may not relate to the historical reality.

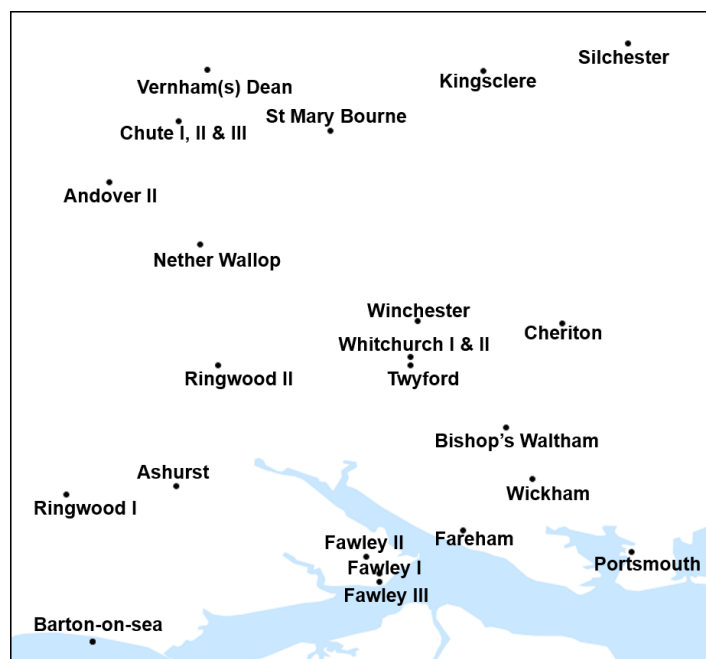
The only distinctive pattern among the weights of coins in South-West British coins was in the west. The Wambrook, Beaminster and Bradford Peverell hoards tended to contain lighter coins. Coinage on the South-West British Coast originated in the east and extended westwards and it would seem that coinage only arrived in these furthest regions after they had already undergone extensive debasement. The only other pattern is that the Isle of Wight hoards tended to contain heavier coins. Perhaps the island's proximity to the Eastern Channel, where staters predominantly consisted of gold, encouraged the use of more intrinsically valuable coins, so heavier silver coins were used to compensate for the less valuable metal. Alternatively, perhaps the island's separation from the mainland provided additional security (4.8.3), so depositors felt able to hoard coins of higher intrinsic value. Between these two patterns lies a concentration of hoards of diverse weights. This likely represents the core of South-West British coin production and as such coins of different levels of debasement were produced here. That this region formed the northern tip of the Silver Corridor is unlikely to have been a coincidence.

¹⁷⁵ Scheers (1977) 47.

4.8.1: Gold Hoarding

Although the coin hoards of the Western Channel were dominated by billon staters, distinct concentrations of gold hoards appeared in southern Armorica (immediately above the Loire river) and above the Isle of Wight in Britain. I have already referred to a number of gold coin hoards that appeared in western Armorica, but they were amongst billon hoards and represent coins in differing stages of debasement, rather than a specific preference towards gold coins.

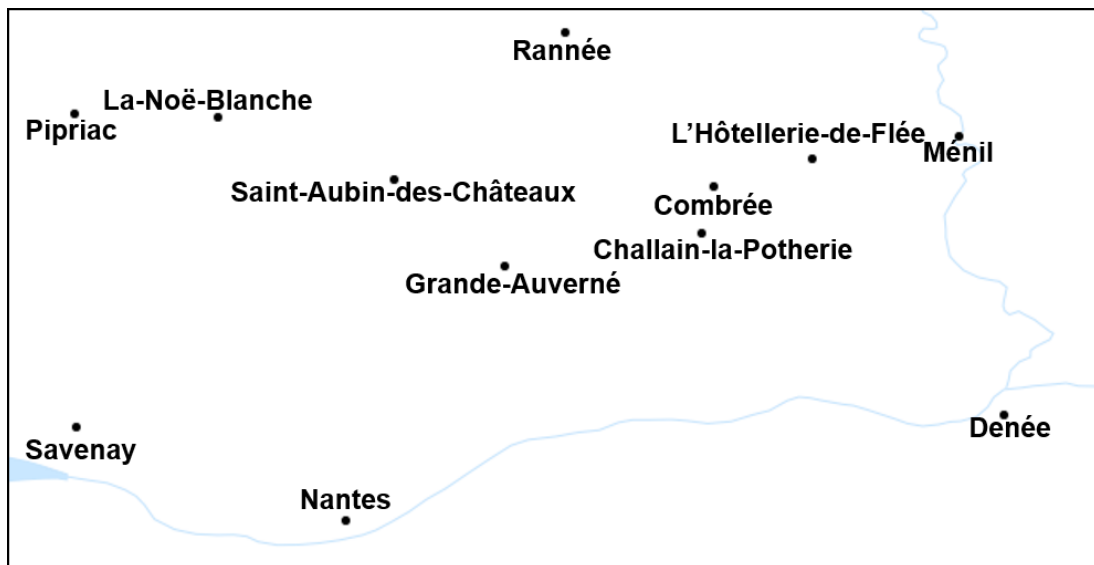
West Hampshire (Map 4.14) and southern Armorica (Map 4.15) were close to regions that primarily used gold coins, namely west central-Gaul and the British Kingdoms. As a result, the contents of many of the hoards in these locations contained both local gold issues and gold coins from the nearby region, such as in the Whitchurch I, II, III and Andover II hoards in Britain, and the Pipriac, Grande-Auverné and Denée hoards in Gaul. Depositors thus had greater access to gold coins, but availability was not the only factor. The billon South-West British coins in comparison were distributed across Hampshire in some numbers, but rarely appeared in hoards.¹⁷⁶ Iron Age Hampshire had access to the debased coins, but rarely hoarded them, so there seem to have been a particular preference for gold in hoards.



Map 4.14: Hoards to the north of the Isle of Wight allocated to 60-20 BC.
Created by author using Antiquity *À-la-carte*.

¹⁷⁶ Leins (2012) 149, fig 4.66, 150, fig 4.67.

The local availability of certain coins was clearly not a concern, as Armorican gold was favoured over more easily accessible South-West silver. The Ringwood II hoard contained a large number of Armorican gold staters, all die-linked, which has led to suggestions that the hoard was a tribal gift, as the coins seemingly arrived together.¹⁷⁷ These coins were incorporated into the wider gold hoarding landscape, yet the local, more easily obtainable South-West British staters were not.



Map 4.15: Southern Armorican hoards allocated to 60-20 BC. Created by author using *Antiquity À-la-carte*.

The gold hoards in southern Armorica (Map 4.15) primarily contained gold staters attributed to the Pictones. These gold stater hoards appeared outside the region under study, throughout Western Gaul south of the Loire and north of the Gironde rivers, and the hoards in Armorica represent the northernmost limits of this pattern.¹⁷⁸ The Pictones are also suspected to be the producers of *drachmae* and silver units (coins of high silver content with a smaller diameter than the staters), but these coins only appeared in hoards south of the Loire river, beyond the region under study.¹⁷⁹ It seems that the northernmost users of these coins were influenced by the Armorican practices of only hoarding staters. South of the Loire, the influences of the stater-using Armorica and the silver unit-using

¹⁷⁷ Chameroy & Guihard (2012) 13.

¹⁷⁸ Lorient & Nony (1982) 18-19, no. 6: Civaux II; 19, no. 7: Civray; 21, no. 13: Loudon; 21, no. 14: Luisignan; 22, no. 18: Poitiers; 26, no. 28: Valdivienne; 28, no. 31: Vivonne; 36, no. 9-10: Niort II & III; 37, no. 11: Parthenay; 39, no. 18: Vouillé; 46, no. 3: Chevaux; 59, no. 1: Barbezieux-Saint-Hilaire; Aubin (1984) 59, no. 6: Bouzillé; 103, nos. 2-3: La Châtaigneraie; 105, no. 8: Fontenay-le-Comte; 114, no. 30: Vouillé-les-Marais; Coin Hoards of the Roman Empire Project 5964: Bessay.

¹⁷⁹ Lorient & Nony (1982) 22, no. 18: Poitiers; 23, no. 21: Pouant; 25, no. 25: Saint-Pierre-de-Maillé; 36, no. 10: Niort II; 38, no. 15: Saint Pompain; 51, no. 15: Villeneuve-la-Comtesse.

Gallic south met, hence hoards of gold staters and silver units existed. This example demonstrates the problem with assigning coins to a tribal territory: it is all too easy to imagine that coins served a similar role across a designated tribal territory, when in fact there were many local variations.

These differences can be particularly prone to the external influences caused by other coin-using groups. Iron Age communities in the region under study wished to align their coin use to their close neighbours, either due to cultural links and/or a desire to use the coins in exchange. In this sense coins served as a medium of communication between cultures. The presence of gold staters in hoards close to the gold-using British Kingdoms is a demonstration of this. Likewise, Pictones coins appeared alongside coins from elsewhere in Armorica on three occasions (Denée, Pipriac, Sens-de-Bretagne), also displaying these connections. Additionally, the distinction in coinage across the Loire river might be explained by the distribution of Dressel 1 amphorae: sherds were abundant on the north side of the Loire in Armorica, but they were rare south of the Loire.¹⁸⁰ The debasement of the coinage of the Armoricans, but not the Pictones, and their different denominations seems tied to oversea trade (further explored in the Silver Corridor chapter).

Despite sharing similar iconography, South-West billon staters rarely appeared amongst the Solent gold hoards in western Hampshire and the Armorican coins rarely appeared amongst the Pictones gold stater hoards in the north of the Loire-Atlantique *département*. The move to silver was an isolated phenomenon of the Silver Corridor and western Armorica, so the hoarding of gold coins seems to have been the norm and the Silver Corridor was a diversion from this norm. Indeed, gold and billon staters were hoarded alongside one another in the Silver Corridor, but not to its east and south, further demonstrating that the Silver Corridor was unusual. However, the practice of gold hoarding in these regions was not necessarily unrelated: the Solent coins in the hoards of western Hampshire contained the latest Solent gold coins produced. The last series of the Solent coins is heavily die-linked, with one obverse die for 21 reverse dies, suggesting that it was struck in a hurry.¹⁸¹ Hurried production and a large number of hoards indicates that there

¹⁸⁰ Cunliffe (2001) 389, fig 9.16.

¹⁸¹ Sills (2017) 275, fig 64.

was some form of crisis during the creation of these coins. Sills relates this to tribute payments, but it is more credible that it relates to the situation in the Silver Corridor, given its proximity.¹⁸² Indeed, a link to the Gallic Wars, possibly a large scale striking as a response to the threat of Caesar, is probable, but different communities responded through their coinage in different ways.

4.8.2: Non-Stater Hoards

Although the vast majority of hoards in the Western Channel consisted of only staters and quarter staters, there were exceptions. Nine hoards that contained Gallic *quinarii* were present in Armorica in this period.¹⁸³ These coins were produced outside Armorica after the Gallic Wars by various communities, including Belgic Gaul. They were more common in the hoards of Belgic Gaul and, as a result, are discussed in detail in the Eastern Channel chapter.

Their presence in Armorican hoards displays that there was some interaction in Armorica with the Eastern Channel coinage. There were limited earlier examples of this connection: the large Gallo-Belgic series that dominated the Eastern Channel hoards is only represented in Armorica by a single coin in the Câtillon I hoard, so the Gallic *quinarii* were a sign of a new level of interaction between the east and west of the Channel. However, the presence of hoarded *quinarii* in Armorica tended to be small, with most hoards numbering less than 15 examples. Two exceptions occurred in the form of the Dol-de-Bretagne I hoard of 149 *quinarii* and the Trinity III hoard of 558 *quinarii*, suggesting that, in at least a few cases, Gallic *quinarii* were arriving into the region in significant numbers. In the next chapter I discuss the link between Gallic *quinarii* and Gallic auxiliaries (5.7.3), so perhaps it is the same case here.

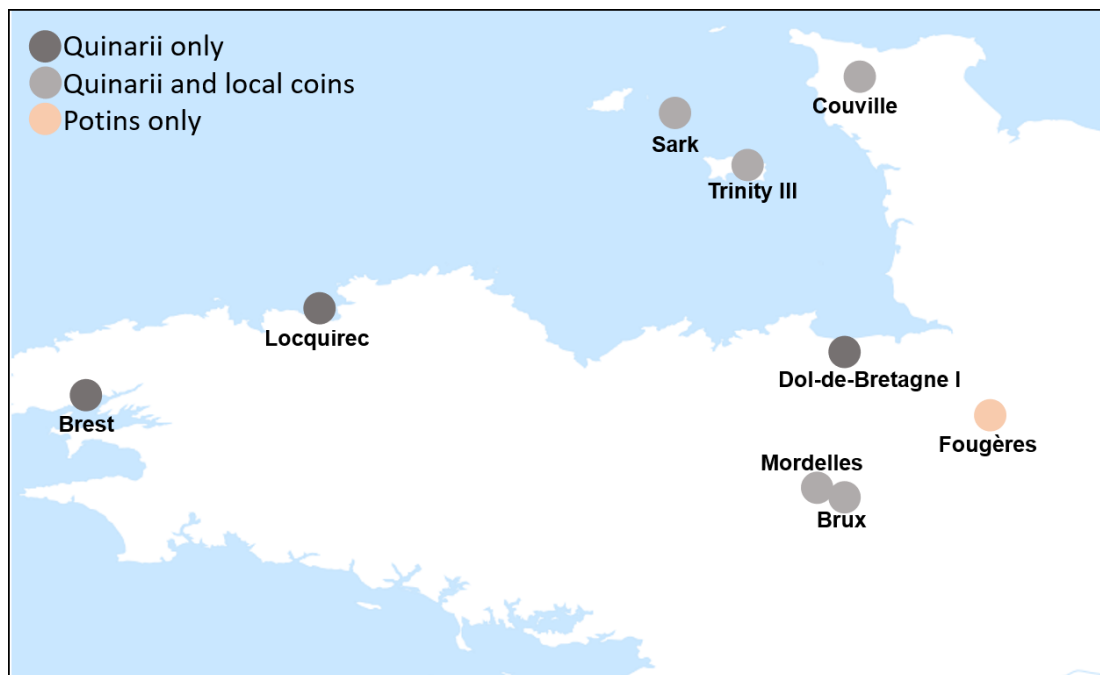
However, Roman *denarii* were almost entirely absent from the Armorican hoards, aside from coins in the Trinity III and Sark hoard.¹⁸⁴ These hoards were deposited on islands, which often have unusual hoarding patterns (4.8.3). The Roman presence in hoards at this

¹⁸² Sills (2017) 728.

¹⁸³ Brest, Brux, le Câtillon II, Couville, Dol-de-Bretagne I, Locquirec, Mordelles, Sark, Trinity III.

¹⁸⁴ These are explored as part of a wider discussion of Roman coin hoarding in the Augustan period section of this chapter (4.9).

time was minimal and *denarii* numbers were also low in Belgic Gaul, so this is part of a wider trend in northern Gaul. Nevertheless, there were more hoards that contained Roman coins in Belgic Gaul during 60-20 BC, so Armorica seems to have been particularly lacking.¹⁸⁵ There were two probable causes of this; the first is that Roman soldiers were never deployed in notable numbers in Armorica. It was far from the frontier and thus lacked the proximity to the frontier forts that regularly brought coinage into Belgic Gaul.¹⁸⁶ The other cause is the lack of *oppida* in Armorica (discussed in detail in the Eastern Channel chapter, 5.7.3).¹⁸⁷



Map 4.16: Distribution of quinarius and potin hoards. Created by author using Antiquity À-la-carte. Graphs not to scale of the size of the hoards.

Unlike the hoards in Belgic Gaul, the *quinarii* hoards in Armorica regularly also contained local staters. This incorporation of staters and non-stater coins is unusual throughout the region under study (6.1.2) and implies that staters continued to serve some purpose in Armorica after the war, whereas in Belgic Gaul they immediately fell out of use. The *quinarii* may have been particularly valued in Armorica due to their high silver purity: even though they were smaller coins, they had more intrinsic value than the majority of the debased staters. Their deposition alongside staters may also suggest that both denominations were driven from circulation at the same time as the Gallic *quinarii*, representing a wider phenomenon in Roman Gaul to replace Gallic coins with Roman

¹⁸⁵ Amiens III, Bois l'Abbé, Breendonk, Dury, Foncquevillers, Neuville-Ferrières, Pommiers, Saint-André-sur-Cailly, Villette.

¹⁸⁶ Kemmers (2006).

¹⁸⁷ Fernández-Götz (2018) 24, fig 1.

issues. Notably, the majority of these mixed stater and *quinarii* hoards appeared in the Silver Corridor (Map 4.16). Perhaps then the deposition of these coins was part of the same phenomenon as the deposition of the debased staters.

The Fougères hoard contained potins; an outlier. This is similar to the Locronan hoard in the previous period, except that whilst the Locronan hoard contained potins from throughout Gaul, the Fougères hoard only contained potins of the *à les tête diabolique* style. The single find distribution of these coins is centred at the confluence of the Loire and Mayenne rivers.¹⁸⁸ A number of *tête diabolique* finds appear at the end of the Mayenne river, just to the east of the Fougères hoard, implying that the contents of the hoard travelled through riverways in bulk from the nearby area.¹⁸⁹ Despite containing the same denominations, it forms a different style of deposit to the potin hoards of the previous period, which contained coins from a range of different areas and were deposited far away from where these potins were produced. The fact that Armorican coins were not present in the Fougères hoard suggests that potins were not considered compatible with the stater coins of the region. This is not necessarily the result of the coins being foreign: in the Eastern Channel, local potins were not hoarded amongst staters. In Armorica, as elsewhere, the divide seems to be between potins and staters, rather than concerns between local and foreign specimens, suggesting that despite differences in coinage, there were widespread norms related to hoarding across all regions.



Fig 4.8: Solent silver half unit, ABC 836, c. 60-20 BC?, 1.1g, 12.2mm, 6 o'clock. Obv. Moon head, r., pellet on chin, small horse in front. Rev. Horse, l., with pellet tail, floral sun above, double ring with pellet below. Courtesy of the Portable Antiquities Scheme, BERK-7962D4.

A small number of hoards on the South-West British Coast in this period contained silver units.¹⁹⁰ The term "silver units" is a modern term for a non-stater form of Iron Age coinage (Fig 4.8). They are mostly found in Hampshire, the British Kingdoms and further north, as well as some examples in Belgic Gaul. They are lighter and smaller than staters and most

¹⁸⁸ Barthélémy (1995) 31, fig 11, 35.

¹⁸⁹ Barthélémy (1995) 31, fig 11.

¹⁹⁰ Freshwater Bay, Mount Batten, Nether Wallop, Portsmouth, Shorwell.

quarter staters.¹⁹¹ Modern scholars identify the smallest silver units as “minums”. While the term applies to the coinages of many different parts of Britain, there is great variety between them. On the South-West British Coast, silver units are predominantly restricted to the area on and above the Isle of Wight, in the area around eastern hillforts such as Danebury (Map 4.17). The only exception is the Mount Batten hoard, but as the only hoard in Devon, it is an outlier (4.8.4).



Map 4.17: Distribution of hoards of the South-West British Coast allocated to 60-20 BC that contained silver units. Created by author using Antiquity À-la-carte.

With the exception of the Nether Wallop hoard, these coins are found only in hoards with billon staters. They seem to have been valued for their metal content alongside other silver coins. However, their significance should not be overstated; they never exceed more than four examples in any hoard, and in most examples only one of these coins is present. The inclusion of these coins was a rarity, and even then, with the exception of the Nether Wallop hoard, they were considered only worth hoarding among other coins. Their rarity and perhaps their small size meant that they were not hoarded.

The hoard evidence suggests that the relationship between South-West British staters and South-West British quarter staters was not close. In 11 hoards throughout the South-West British Coast, South-West staters and South-West quarter staters were deposited together.¹⁹² However, in only five of these examples were the South-West staters the only staters in the hoard.¹⁹³ The remaining six hoards contained staters produced outside the region; the South-West quarter staters did not specifically accompany the South-West staters. Additionally, several of the South-West stater and quarter stater hoards contained

¹⁹¹ Bean (2000) 80-81.

¹⁹² Bere Regis, Bradford Peverell, Corfe Common, Down Ground, Freshwater Bay, Godshill, Portsmouth, Shapwick, Upton, Winterbourne Monkton, Witchampton.

¹⁹³ Bradford Peverell, Godshill, Portsmouth, Winterbourne Monkton, Witchampton.

smaller coins that were not part of the stater system (such as silver units), so the South-West staters were also deposited among coins that were not related to them in their iconography or metal content.¹⁹⁴ As further distinctions, in two hoards the South-West quarter staters were hoarded alongside staters of a different region, but not the South-West staters, and the South-West staters retained the wreath and horse design, while the South-West quarter stater had a variant, with the “three men in a boat” obverse replaced by a spiral on one type (Fig 4.9).¹⁹⁵ The hoard evidence suggests that the South-West quarter staters were not closely linked to the South-West staters in the same way as staters elsewhere. This leaves the possibility that South-West staters did not have a specific quarter stater to accompany them and suggests that their role may differ from other regions, where it was assumed that most staters required a quarter stater. This a highly regionalised phenomenon of the South-West British Coast, suggesting that while cultural exchange is important, internal factors can also play a role.



Fig 4.9: South-West billon quarter stater, ABC 2220, c. 58 BC – AD 43?, 0.86g, 12.68mm, die axis not recorded. Obv. Five-armed spiral, with pellets between each arm. Rev. Zigzag thunderbolt, uncertain objects either side. Courtesy of the Portable Antiquities Scheme, SUR-7548A6.

4.8.3: Islands

Unusual patterns of hoarding often occurred on the islands in the Western Channel, both in terms of the deposition of several rare coins and the sheer size of the hoards. In other cultures, islands have been imagined as “closed worlds”, home to the bizarre.¹⁹⁶ Literature throughout history support these trends: in the *Odyssey* and the early Medieval Irish tales of the *Voyage of Bran*, heroes encountered strange events on islands.¹⁹⁷ Historical texts also refer to unusual qualities, such as Corsica having abundant fertility and in the 20th century, islands, particularly those far from the continent, were valued in scholarship as ideal laboratory conditions, with their isolation allowing unique cultures to form.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁴ Down Ground, Freshwater Bay, Portsmouth, Shapwick, Upton.

¹⁹⁵ Barton-on-sea, Ringwood II, Tarrant Crawford.

¹⁹⁶ Clarke (2001) 97; Constantakopoulou (2007) 2.

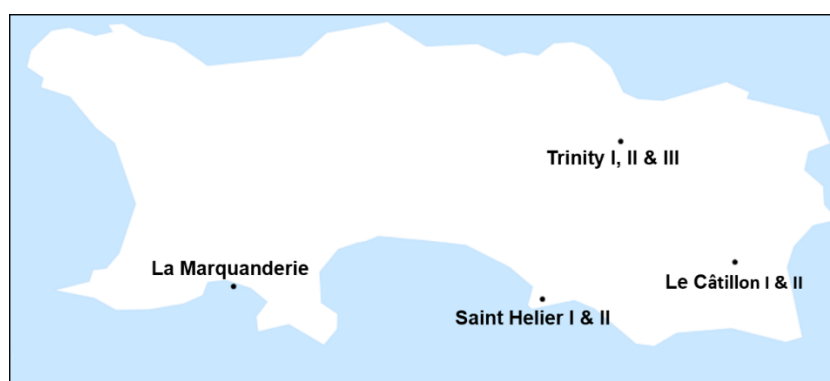
¹⁹⁷ Homer, *Odyssey*, 9; *Voyage of Bran*.

¹⁹⁸ Diodorus, *Library of History*, 5.14.1; Goodenough (1957); Constantakopoulou (2007) 6.

The hoard evidence of the Channel Islands provides archaeological verification of the unusual nature of islands. The majority of island hoards reflect the patterns witnessed on the mainland, but on a larger scale. The situation on Jersey is well known in Iron Age scholarship: the island contained the largest Armorican, and indeed Iron Age, coin hoards in existence, some of which number in the thousands and tens of thousands, including the Câtillon II hoard of c. 70,000 coins (Maps 4.18-4.19).¹⁹⁹ The vast majority of the contents were coins attributed to the Coriosolitae, similar to the hoards on the mainland to Jersey's south and east. In this sense, there is therefore nothing overly unusual about Jersey's hoards in terms of the majority of their contents: except for their large size, they are an extension of coin hoard patterns on the mainland but on a larger scale.



Map 4.18: Composition of hoards on Jersey. Created by author using Antiquity À-la-carte.



Map 4.19: Jersey hoards allocated to 60-20 BC. Created by author using Antiquity À-la-carte.

¹⁹⁹ Le Câtillon I & II, la Marquanderie, Saint Helier I & II, Trinity I, II, III & IV. Colbert de Beaulieu (1957b); 13 Jersey hoards have been found in total, but the details of many are difficult to incorporate into the dataset due to limited information on the finds or because they number only a single coin.

A major oddity of the Jersey hoards is their location on that particular Channel island. Put simply, Jersey has all the coins whereas other Channel Islands have all the archaeology (Map 4.20). It is probable that some Channel Islands served as redistribution centres for the nearby mainland due to their close proximity to Britain and Gaul.²⁰⁰ Guernsey, despite its proximity to Jersey, has none of the large coin hoards, and as a result some scholars have deemed the island not part of these cross-Channel routes.²⁰¹ However, Armorican ware and Dressel 1a amphorae are found on Guernsey, so evidently it had some role in cross-Channel exchange.²⁰² Furthermore, no Dressel 1 amphorae sherds and little other imported ware has been found on Jersey.²⁰³ Additionally, Guernsey has several warrior burials, suggesting an elite culture, whereas Jersey does not.²⁰⁴ Other Channel Islands, such as the Isle of Wight, show involvement in cross-Channel trade, with a few amphorae sherd examples, as well as a large number of pottery sherds either from or influenced by the mainland.²⁰⁵ The lack of imported ware on Jersey casts doubt on the idea that it was part of cross-Channel trade, or at least not trade that can be defined by surviving material.



Map 4.20: The Channel Islands. Created by author using Antiquity À-la-carte.

²⁰⁰ Patton (1987) 135, fig xlii; Trott & Tomalin (2003) 163; Walton (2012) 68.

²⁰¹ E.g. Patton (1987) 135, fig xlii.

²⁰² Cunliffe (1997) 37; (2001) 402; Wood & Monaghan (2018) 59.

²⁰³ Galliou (1982) 35-78; Cunliffe (1997) 37; Carver (2001) 78-80, appendix 1.

²⁰⁴ de Jersey (1998) 49.

²⁰⁵ Carver (2001) 78-80, appendix 1; Trott & Tomalin (2003) 172.

It is doubtful that the contents of the hoards on Jersey arrived via trade. Some of the coins may represent local usage, as a few settlements were present on the island; indeed, the Trinity III hoard was found in an ancient earthwork and the Câtillon hoards were found amongst a group of pits with some metalworking debris, suggestive of a settlement.²⁰⁶ The archaeology is limited for these sites, but it does suggest that these hoards had some relationship with the inhabitants of the island. Indeed, it has been suggested that Armorican coinage, particularly later issues attributed to the Coriosolitae, may have been produced on Jersey itself, but there is no current evidence of coin production tools anywhere in Armorica.²⁰⁷

More likely, the isolation of Jersey may explain the presence of such large Armorican hoards. The proximity of the island to the mainland, close but not close enough to allow for unplanned journeys, the limited population presence and the apparent lack of visitation by merchants would make it ideal for concealing large amounts of wealth. Jersey's relative isolation would have prevented accidental discovery of such a large hoard. The local settlers were either too few to notice the hoarding activity or were socially or politically connected to or were themselves the owners of the hoards.

While the Jersey and the mainland hoards were dominated by the billon Armorican staters attributed to the Coriosolitae, the majority of the Jersey hoards contained the latest class of coins produced (class II).²⁰⁸ This differs from the mainland hoards, which tended to contain earlier classes (Map 4.21). Hooker identified that hoards which contained later issues of Coriosolitae coins (classes II-III) appeared beyond the river Rance in what is now the Manche *département* to the east of Jersey, whereas hoards of earlier issues (classes I, IV-VI) were distributed in the Ille-et-Vilaine *département*, directly south of Jersey.²⁰⁹ He suggested that this may represent the Armorican forces retreating to northernmost Armorica, striking coins as they went.²¹⁰ This general pattern can be witnessed (Map 4.21, notice the dark purple on hoards in the east and on Jersey), but the distinction is not definitive. Several hoards in the west, below Jersey, contained later class III and II coins,

²⁰⁶ Henderson (2007) 215, fig 6.6; Waterhouse (2014) 42.

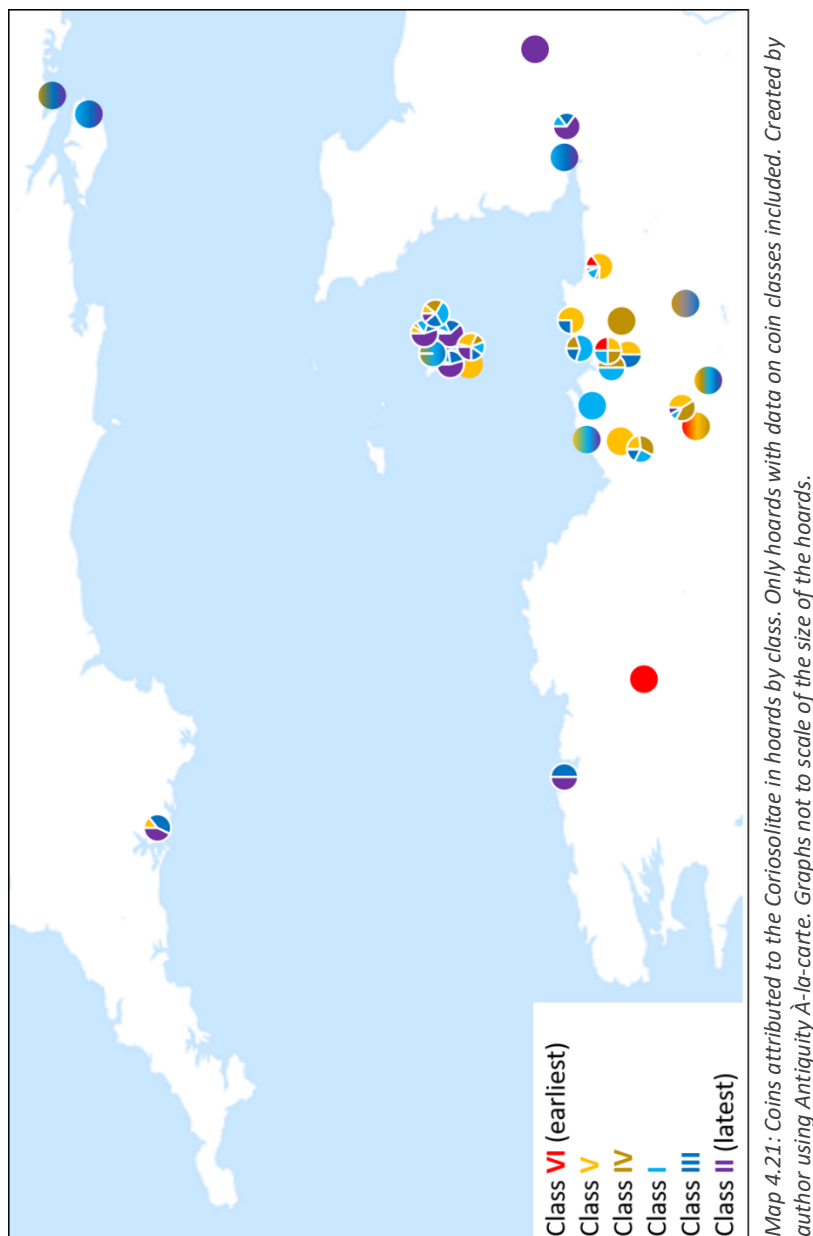
²⁰⁷ de Jersey (2016) 167, 174.

²⁰⁸ de Jersey (2016) 169, table 1.

²⁰⁹ Hooker (2002) 10.

²¹⁰ Hooker (2002) 10.

and while the earlier class coins may not appear in the eastern hoards, this may reflect the lack of hoards in that area. One notes that class II staters are the most common Coriosolitae coins in hoards on Jersey and the most common single finds on the South-West British Coast.²¹¹ This suggests a connection between the two regions, further witnessed by the presence of South-West British staters in the Câtillon hoards of Jersey, which are almost unknown amongst the mainland Armorican hoards. This leads to the implication that the coin hoarding on Jersey may have had some form of impact on Britain, which may play some role in the manifestation of the Silver Corridor.



²¹¹ de Jersey (1997) 75, fig 40.

Just as the Jersey hoards were an extension of mainland Armorican patterns, the Isle of Wight displays features of the South-West British Coast mainland. All the hoards allocated to 60-20 BC on the island contained South-West British coins.²¹² Two of these hoards are particularly large: the Shorwell hoard contained over 100 and the Brighstone hoard contained nearly 1000 South-West British examples (Map 4.22). The only hoard of South-West coins larger than the Brighstone hoard is the Upton hoard, dated to the Augustan period: most other hoards of mainland South-West British coins contained less than a hundred issues.



Map 4.22: Isle of Wight hoards allocated to 60-20 BC. Created by author using Antiquity À-la-carte

Similar to Jersey, the hoards on the Isle of Wight were larger than those on the mainland and coins from across the Channel appeared in its hoards. These Armorican coins were not present in the larger hoards such as Brighstone and Shorwell, but they appeared amongst the smaller hoards, such as Bembridge, Down Ground and Freshwater Bay, in addition to Gurnard Bay in the previous period. The size of the hoards on Jersey was not the only reason for the inclusion of non-local issues, as the largest hoards on the Isle of Wight were fairly homogenous. Islands served as redistribution points and therefore were more likely to be frequented by foreign visitors, and thus attracted foreign issues. This may explain why such a range of coins does not appear on the mainland: coins were used in cross-Channel exchanges, but trade between both sides of the Channel primarily occurred on these Channel Islands, hence the traders and their coins never reached the mainland. A range of coins of other regions appeared on the Channel Islands, such as Solent, British Kingdom, Armorican and even coins from central Gaul (Table 4.4). Jersey attracted more Gallic coins and the Isle of Wight attracted more British coins, as is to be expected based on each island's location, but generally each island has a range of coins from many different parts of the ancient world. This is also reflected by small islands in the Western Channel:

²¹² Bembridge, Brighstone, Down Ground, Freshwater Bay, Newport, Shorwell.

the Portland Bill hoard contained tetradrachms from the Danube region of eastern Europe, further demonstrating that islands were magnets for foreign coins. The Jersey hoards contained a range of coins from across Armorica, and such a mix of coins from different Armorican communities was unusual in hoards (cf. 6.4.1). Islands therefore were extensions of mainland hoarding, but they also had unusual features, namely the size of hoards and the inclusion of many non-local issues.

| Origin of Coins | Isle of Wight Hoards | Jersey Hoards |
|---|----------------------|---------------|
| South-West British (Dorset) | 6 | 3 |
| Aulerici Cenomani (Armorica) | 0 | 1 |
| Coriosolitae (Armorica) | 1 | 9 |
| Baiocasses (Armorica) | 1 | 7 |
| Osismii (Armorica) | 1 | 4 |
| Redones (Armorica) | 0 | 1 |
| Veneti (Armorica) | 1 | 1 |
| Gallo-Belgic (Belgic Gaul/British Kingdoms) | 1 | 1 |
| Non-Gallo-Belgic (Belgic Gaul) | 1 | 2 |
| Solent (South-West Britain) | 2 | 2 |
| British Kingdoms | 3 | 0 |
| Central Gaul | 1 | 2 |
| Southern Gaul | 0 | 1 |
| Inscribed eastern Gaul | 1 | 3 |
| Roman | 0 | 3 |
| Massalia | 0 | 1 |
| Western Britain | 1 | 0 |
| Isle of Wight | 1 | 0 |

Table 4.4: Origin of coins present in hoards on the Isle of Wight and Jersey across all periods.

The appearance of such a range of non-local issues perhaps relates to islands serving as a safe storage location for a variety of inhabitants from different communities across the mainland. Their separation from the mainland and perhaps any political authorities present there provided a form of isolation. Islands appear not to have been closely connected to hoarding practices on the mainland due to their separation. As a result, there was a greater willingness to hoard examples of coins that did not necessarily fit the coinage practices of the wider region. The role of islands extends beyond the Western Channel: for instance, on the Hayling Island sanctuary site in the Eastern Channel there was an unusually large number of plated coins, both Iron Age and Roman, as well as many foreign examples.²¹³ However, the Isle of Wight and Jersey had specific features that tied their hoards to the wider hoarding landscapes of the region, namely the large number of debased coins. The

²¹³ Briggs, Haselgrove & King (1992) 2.

similarity of the Isle of Wight to Jersey would suggest that the hoarding on both occurred under similar circumstances.

4.8.4: Areas of Low Coin Hoarding Activity



Map 4.23: Cornwall and Devon hoards allocated to 60-20 BC. Created by author using Antiquity À-la-carte.

Coin hoards are almost entirely absent in Devon and Cornwall (Map 4.23). This is understandable given that coins were not produced in these locations, which makes the few hoards that have been found of interest. There are only four hoards present in this period across the entirety of the two counties and one hoard that may have a *terminus ante quem* of AD 43 (as ever, the dating of Iron Age coins remains problematic).²¹⁴ The Mount Batten hoard contained coins from the west of Britain (the Cotswolds region), Armorica and possibly Dorset.²¹⁵ The Cornwall Penzance II and Carn Brea hoards contained gold staters (both) and quarter staters (Carn Brea only) from the Eastern Channel, and the Penzance I hoard contained potins. The presence of such a variety of coins is reminiscent of the Isle of Wight hoards, and indeed Mount Batten was also involved in maritime movements: the coins were found close to a site with Armorican pottery, Wessex brooches and Kimmeridge shale from Dorset, suggestive of extensive trade links.²¹⁶ It is doubtful that these trade links were direct between these regions, but the result of coastal trade that

²¹⁴ Carn Brea, Mount Batten, Penzance I & II. Padstow is allocated to the Early Julio-Claudian period.

²¹⁵ Sellwood (1988) 51: The gold Western coins may be a separate deposit from the other coins, but the early records are jumbled.

²¹⁶ Cunliffe (1988a) 104.

carried out regular stops along the southern coast, collecting goods along the way, may explain the range of coin types in the hoards.²¹⁷ Alternatively, goods from Mount Batten have been found at Hengistbury Head, a site that had a large number of coins from across Britain and Gaul, so the Mount Batten coins could represent a single consignment of coins from Hengistbury Head.²¹⁸

Aside from the (doubtful) Paul hoard discussed earlier and the Padstow hoard, which contained two late Western British silver units found in close proximity that may or may not have been a hoard, the Carn Brea and Penzance hoards were the only other hoards in Cornwall. The hoards seem unconnected, aside from the majority of their coins coming from the Eastern Channel. The Penzance I hoard contained potins from across Gaul, but mostly from Belgic Gaul and eastern Gaul. This is reminiscent of the Locronan hoard in Armorica from 200-61 BC: both were found on the extremities of the British and Armorican land, although the Penzance I hoard contained coins thought to have been produced later, after the Gallic Wars. The reason that these coins were hoarded in an area where they were not produced could reflect an interest in the coins for their artistic and exotic values. The Carn Brea hoard contained Gallo-Belgic coins, which were rare in hoards in Dorset. For these coins to be hoarded in such numbers (22) so far west is surprising. The hoard contained more quarter staters than staters, which, while not unknown amongst Iron Age coin hoards from other areas, is uncommon. This reflects the rarity of coins in the region: the depositors hoarded whatever coins they had available and could not afford to discriminate in favour of higher value denominations. The Penzance II hoard was reconstructed from a collection and may not have been an actual hoard, but it may be related to the Carn Brea hoard, as both contained similar coins.²¹⁹ The Penzance II hoard could therefore be a reality.

The limited number of hoards and indeed Iron Age coin finds from Cornwall and Devon may be the result of the limited extensive excavation of Iron Age settlements within these counties.²²⁰ However, few Roman coins finds are present in the region, so the lack of

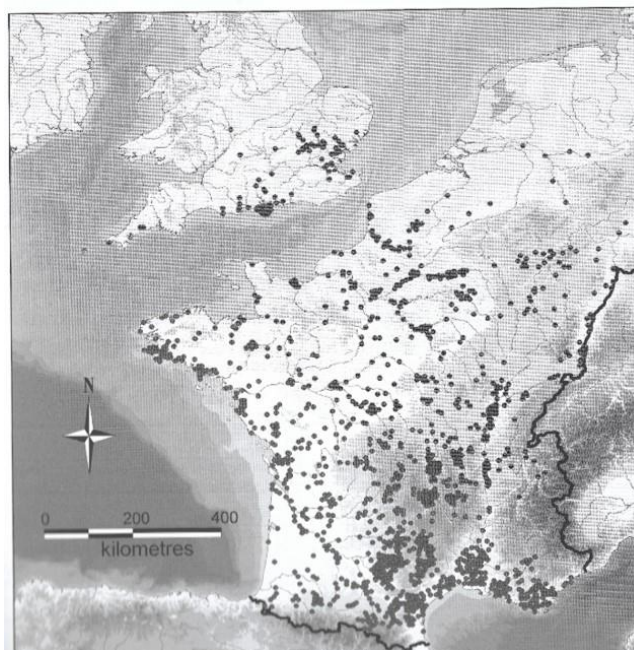
²¹⁷ Cunliffe (1984a) 5, fig 1.

²¹⁸ Wilkes (2004) 264; de Jersey (2014) 98-109.

²¹⁹ Portable Antiquities Scheme IARCH-654DBD.

²²⁰ Cripps (2007) 140.

coinage seems to be a long-term, historical phenomenon, suggesting there seems to have been a general disinterest in producing or using coins.²²¹ In the past, one might relate this to the pastoral nature of Cornwall and Devon Iron Age economy, as opposed to the agrarian-based economies of coin-producing regions of this study.²²² However, this view of Cornwall and Devon has been challenged, and there are signs that there was a functioning agrarian economy on several sites in the region.²²³ Amphorae are rare in Cornwall and Devon, but are more common in areas where hoards were present (Map 4.24). While the link between amphorae and coinage may not be direct, the amphorae are representative of cross-Channel trade and influences, as well as potentially a particular form of prestige culture which wine circulated in, and perhaps these encouraged the development of coinage. Indeed, the few hoards in Cornwall were close to the most westerly amphorae findspots in Britain, demonstrating the connection between cross-Channel trade and coinage.



Map 4.24: Distribution of Republican amphorae in northwest Europe (Morris (2010) 33, fig. 3.4).

The lack of coinage may reflect changing communication networks. Prior to the 2nd century BC, Cornwall, Devon and Armorica shared similar settlement patterns, suggesting a close cultural connection. However, during the 1st century BC, the Armorican cordoned ware

²²¹ Portable Antiquities Scheme.

²²² Fox (1954) 87.

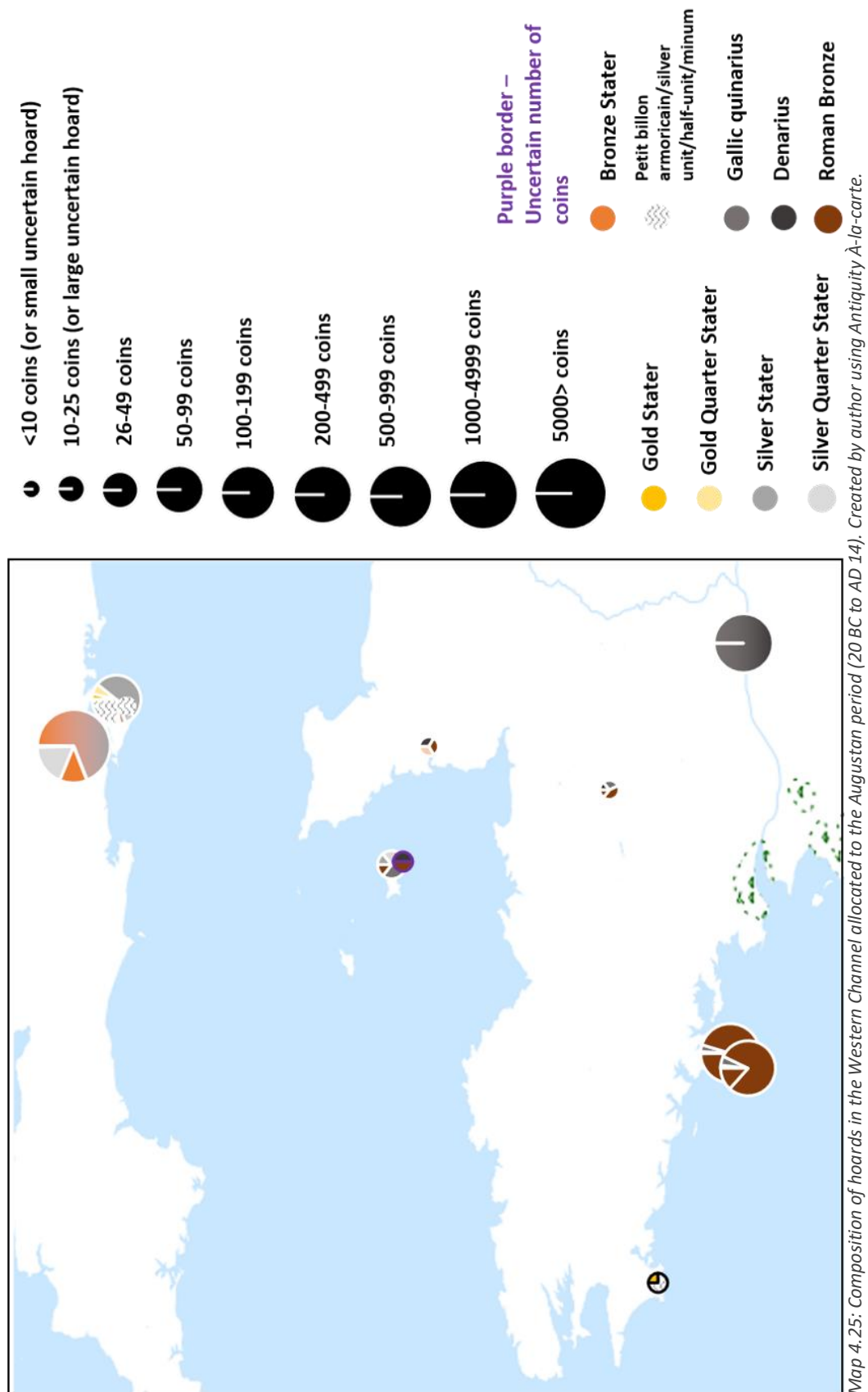
²²³ Price (1993) 274; Cripps (2007) 146, 150.

style of pottery rarely appeared in Devon, in addition to the general absence of amphorae in Cornwall and Devon.²²⁴ Additionally, the tin trade of Cornwall may not have been so relevant with the more widespread use of iron increasingly reducing the need for bronze. The focus of Armorican trade was now with Dorset and Hampshire. Devon and Cornwall had less cross-Channel contact in this period, and thus were not exposed to Armorican influences during the period where Armorican coin use was at its peak. Thus, there was little available inspiration for coinage, as there were no other coin-using regions in close proximity.

4.9: Hoards of Coins Dating to the Augustan Period (20 BC to AD 14)

The number of Iron Age and Roman coin hoards allocable to this period represents a major decline in deposited/unretrieved hoards from the previous period (Maps 4.25-26). There are no overarching hoard patterns to speak of, an interesting development in itself, save for Roman coins becoming the norm in coin hoards in Armorica. The incorporation of Armorica into the Roman world led to disruptions in coin hoarding and in the cross-Channel relationship. As a result, the hoards in this period and indeed in the next (the Julio-Claudian period) are all unique. The following two sections thus look at developments in individual hoards to find clues as to what had happened to the coinage of the Western Channel, rather than attempting to identify recognisable patterns.

²²⁴ Henderson (2007) 208, 276.





Map 4.26: Hoards of the Western Channel allocated to the Augustan period (20 BC to AD 14). Created by author using *Antiquity À-la-carte*.

It is possible that a number of hoards from the previous period may have been deposited in this period, as has been suggested for the South-West British coinage (4.5.1). However, there was also a decline in hoard numbers in the Eastern Channel (see chapter 5) in this period, so the lack of hoards allocated to this period is part of a broader pattern and is plausibly reflective of the historical reality.

The Upton hoard is the only South-West British Coast coin hoard with a *terminus post quem* in this period. It contained a large number of heavily debased South-West British staters (c. 3300), in addition to approximately 2000 South-West British quarter staters, a Western Britain silver unit and a minim of Tincomarus (a king of the British Kingdoms), the latter coin providing the *terminus post quem* of 25 BC to AD 10 for this hoard.²²⁵ The inclusion of non-stater and quarter staters in this predominantly stater and quarter stater hoard would seem to suggest that the depositors desired to hoard any coin, regardless of

²²⁵ Tincomarus' regnal dates are based on his one mention in *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* 32 and his approximate placement in the known sequence of Iron Age kings (Creighton (2000) 76, fig 3.7).

denomination, possibly because the staters were so debased that even a small silver minim had more intrinsic value. This is reminiscent of the large hoards on Jersey. Although two single non-stater/quarter stater coins may seem insignificant, the majority of the hoard was unrecorded, so these two coins potentially represent a larger number of similar, unrecorded issues.

This hoard is located close to the Eastern Channel, explaining how the inscribed Tincomarus coin from that region came to be in the hoard. However, the general lack of inscribed coinage of the Eastern Channel zone is apparent across most South-West British Coast hoards, which is why the hoards are so difficult to date. Coinage from the Eastern Channel zone rarely appeared to the west of the river Test, where the bulk of South-West British debased coinage was produced and hoarded.²²⁶ This supports the concept of two separate trade routes within the Channel and/or that the coins of the Eastern Channel zone could not be easily integrated amongst the debased coinage of the South-West British Coast, perhaps on account of their iconography, metal or weight.

The Upton hoard was unusual in that there were cut marks on at least 42 (much of the hoard remains unrecorded) of the South-West British billon coins that made up the contents.²²⁷ The marks on all but two of the coins went through the centre of the obverse, through the wreath, which de Jersey suggests was a means of ritually killing the coin.²²⁸ Any cut marks, even those not in such a prominent position, are rare for Iron Age coins; less than 2% of the 34,000 British Iron Age coins in the Celtic coin index as of 2005 had any sign of intentional damage.²²⁹ Indeed, there are few recorded cut marks on any of the hoarded coins in this thesis' dataset, but the hoards on the Channel Islands as well as a number of earlier hoards of South-West British coins also had a number of billon coins with cuts, although they were rarely located in as prominent a location as the cuts on the Upton coins.²³⁰ It is possible that the cut marks on the Channel Islands and the Upton hoard were

²²⁶ Haselgrove (1987) 56; Leins (2012) 136-144, figs 4.54-4.62.

²²⁷ de Jersey (2005a) 87.

²²⁸ de Jersey (2005a) 105.

²²⁹ de Jersey (2005a) 85.

²³⁰ Bembridge, le Câtillon I & II, Corfe Castle, Edmondsham, Freshwater Bay, Shorwell, Trinity III, Vieux-Vy-sur-Couesnon.

related, given their close proximity, further suggesting the Isle of Wight was part of the mainland patterns of coin hoarding.

Concentrations of intentionally damaged coins can be seen at Hayling Island temple in the Eastern Channel zone, and the association with a sanctuary site suggests that intentional damage to coins may have served some form of ritual purpose.²³¹ However, an alternative explanation is that these cut marks on the Upton coins were designed to restrict the circulation of coins, preventing examples from leaving the communities' territory, perhaps to maintain metal/coin stocks. Such a case can be seen in ancient Syria: Athenian silver coins in hoards here were cut to prevent their use in Athens, thus preventing the valuable silver leaving the local area.²³² Alternatively, a simpler explanation is that they were test cuts to check the metal. The debasement of the coins in the Western Channel and that a number of coins were plated meant users would never be too sure about the quality of the coin they were receiving. In such an environment, it is easy to imagine why test cuts might have occurred. The location of the marks on that particular part of the coin might be one of habit, or it might relate to a belief that the true metal occurred at the centre of the coin. The marks were practical, but that does not mean there was not a ritual aspect to the action.

While Armorican coin production appears to have ended, Roman coins were entering Gaul in increasing, yet few, numbers. Roman coins formed the majority of the few hoards in Armorica in this period, though this relates to a decline in Iron Age coin production rather than a particular major influx of Roman coins. To demonstrate the absence of early Roman coins in Armorica, I have gathered data on Roman coins pre-dating Claudius from the Côtes d'Armor *département*. These coins were almost entirely concentrated in Corseul, the only major Roman settlement in the area. Over 700 such coins were found on site but only 13-20 Roman single finds pre-dating Caligula have been found elsewhere in the French *département*, so there was little opportunity for Armoricans to hoard these coins.²³³ This contrasts with developments in the Eastern Channel (see chapter 5), where the Roman influence is more apparent. This demonstrates the continued limited contact between the

²³¹ Briggs, Haselgrove & King (1992) 2.

²³² Buxton (2009) 22-23.

²³³ Bizien-Jaglin, Galliou & Kerébel (2002).

Eastern Channel and the Western Channel, and that the rising influence of the Roman frontier in stimulating coin use and coin hoards in the east had little impact on the west.

The divide between east and west Armorica appears again in this period, but this time in the form of small Armorican coin hoards in the west and Roman coin hoards in the east. Evidently, Roman coinage may not have penetrated particularly far into Armorica. Bronze coinage was hoarded more extensively in Armorica than in the preceding periods, due to Roman coinage entering the Peninsula. Large silver hoards do continue, but only in the form of the Ingrandes hoard which consisted of 400 *denarii*. This hoard is not representative of a continuing practice of depositing silver, as the hoard is in southern Armorica, far away from the Silver Corridor.

The island of Quiberon, to the south of Armorica, is particularly unusual, as no hoards were present on the island prior to the Augustan period. The two hoards of this period primarily consisted of bronze Roman coins of the Lugdunum mint, but both hoards also contained Gallic coins. Notably, the Quiberon II hoard contained a gold coin of central-Western Gaul, which seems particularly inappropriately hoarded amongst the lower value bronze Augustan asses. The hoards on Quiberon contained a mix of unusual coins, similar to the Channel Islands, again demonstrating that hoarding on islands often results in unusual hoards.

Similar to the Upton hoard, there were signs of defacement on the Quiberon coins, with a number of Roman coins in the hoard hammered and slashed, with some obliterating the emperor's head.²³⁴ It is doubtful that there was a link between the hoards in terms of the function of the cuts, as the Quiberon coins were obviously made of bronze, so test cuts would have been unnecessary. The defacement on these coins has been attributed to resistance to Roman rule, which would explain the presence of Gallic coins amongst the hoard if the depositors were Gallic rebels.²³⁵ They could be part of the same phenomenon as the defaced coins of the Varus disaster in Germany, representing widespread

²³⁴ Giard (1967) 121; Goulpeau (1985) 84.

²³⁵ Goulpeau (1985) 89; Desnier (1988) 103.

dissatisfaction at Roman rule in the early 1st century AD.²³⁶ An alternative explanation that the cut marks were made by Roman soldiers dissatisfied with their ruler has been suggested for the Kalkriese coins.²³⁷ However, it is difficult to generalise this theory to the Quiberon coins; the island's association to the military was minimal, as it is far from the Roman frontier and wider Augustan troop movements.

The Trinity IV hoard contained Gallic *quinarii*, Roman coins and Armorican staters. While the only hoard on the Channel Islands in this period, it is similar to hoards in 60-20 BC, such as the Trinity III hoard (Gallic *quinarii* and Armorican staters) and the Sark hoard (Gallic *quinarii* and one Roman denarius). The presence of *quinarii* and their geographical position within the Channel Islands suggests that they were all buried at similar times, so perhaps the Sark and Trinity III hoard should date to this period regardless of their *terminus post quem*. Allen suggests that the hoards were deposited by Gallic refugees, whereas de Jersey suggests that the coins were deposited by Roman soldiers putting down rebellions.²³⁸ There is, however, no literary evidence that a revolt occurred. The Sark hoard contained *phalerae*, silver discs displaying Mediterranean monsters and animals, such as the Pegasus and an elephant.²³⁹ These *phalerae* were sometimes utilised as trophies worn by Roman soldiers, but the presence of classical mythological monsters on silver objects echoes that of the coins of the British Kingdoms', as well as bearing a similarity to the statuettes of classical mythological creatures found in the Lexden tumulus near Colchester.²⁴⁰ The Gunderstrup cauldron, an object found in Denmark that bore similar images, such as elephants with leopard prints, is a wider example of this phenomenon.²⁴¹ The *phalerae* could either have been owned by a Roman soldier as a trophy or a Gallic leader, who appreciated classical mythological designs for their political association with the powerful Roman empire or simply on an aesthetic level. The presence of the *phalerae* further demonstrates that the Channel Islands were highly unusual in terms of their hoards, as there is no equivalent in any other hoard in the region under study.

²³⁶ Zehnacker (1985) 579.

²³⁷ Berger (1996) 55.

²³⁸ Allen (1968b) 53; de Jersey (1994) 118; (1998) 47.

²³⁹ Allen (1968b) 53.

²⁴⁰ Laver (1927) 249; Foster (1986) 53, 63.

²⁴¹ Allen (1968b) 48.

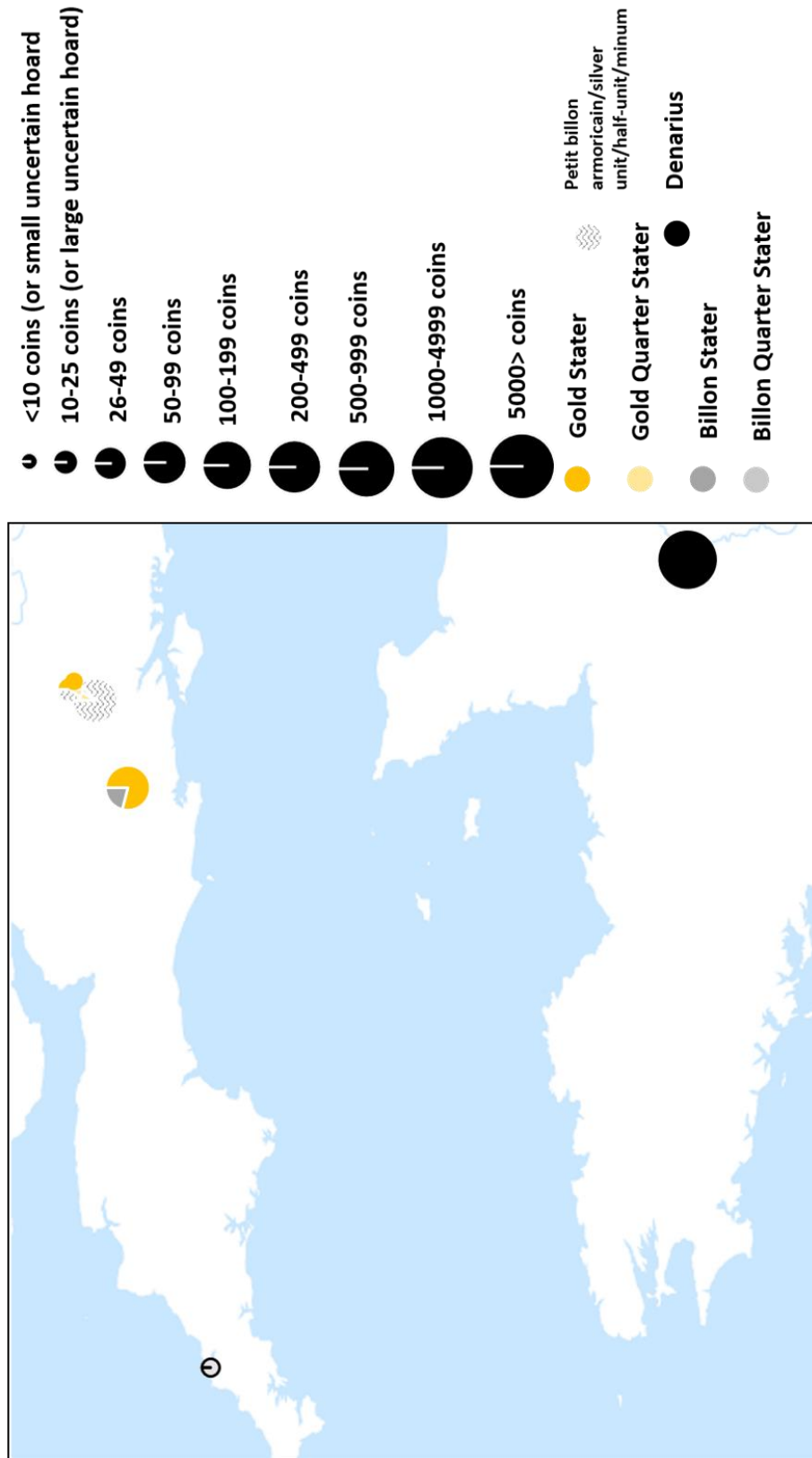
4.10: Hoards of Coins Dating to the Early Julio-Claudian Period (AD 15-43)

By this period, coin hoarding seems to have declined almost entirely. Only a few notable hoards remained in this period and most contained coins produced beyond the Western Channel. The Western Channel seems to have faded in importance as a result of the impact of the earlier Gallic Wars (see Silver Corridor chapter) and this culminates in the reduced hoards of this period.

The majority of Western Channel coin hoards of Iron Age or Roman coins that can be assigned to the Early Julio-Claudian period with reasonable confidence appeared on the South-West British Coast, with only one hoard attributed to this date in Armorica (Maps 4.27-4.28). Iron Age coinage across Gaul seems to have disappeared from circulation during Tiberius' reign, so the availability of indigenous Gallic coinage even from outside Armorica would have been limited.²⁴² Additionally, Roman coinage may not have been reaching Armorica in this period in any great numbers as there would have been a lack of military presence compared to the east, hence there would have been few coins available for hoarding. Indeed, the Laval hoard is at the easternmost point of Armorica and does not reflect widespread coin use throughout the peninsula itself. Additionally, there may have been little need for hoarding: if at least some hoards were deposited due to fears of security, then the later Roman period may have reduced the dangers. Armorica was far away from the Rhine border, which meant that they were under no threat of military incursions, and the raiding that may have been a feature of Iron Age life may have been less acceptable under Roman rule.²⁴³

²⁴² Martin (2015) 327.

²⁴³ Rawlings (1998) 176; Allen (2007) 109.



Map 4.27: Composition of hoards in the Western Channel allocated to the Early Julio-Claudian period (AD 15-43). Created by author using Antiquity À-la-carte.



Map 4.28: Western Channel hoards allocated to the Early Julio-Claudian period (AD 15-43). Created by author using *Antiquity À-la-carte*.

With the exception of the Padstow hoard (4.8.4), the only hoards allocable to the Early Julio-Claudian period terminated in coins from the British Kingdoms, which as previously mentioned were rare in the Western Channel. The number of coins from the British Kingdoms in hoards was never large (ten or less) and the hoards that contained these coins were predominantly clustered in the east: coins of the British Kingdoms never penetrated particularly far into the South-West British Coast. This was despite the large output of coins from Verica and Cunobelin in the British Kingdoms, who produced larger numbers of coins than previous rulers, yet few of these coins appeared in the hoards of the Western Channel.²⁴⁴ This suggests that the divergence of Eastern and Western Channel coinage was

²⁴⁴ ABC 1181-1340, 2771-2993; Allen (1975) 5; Sills (2017) 592, fig 141, 765, 769.

still in effect in this period, and perhaps coinage was not an object that commonly moved outside of its area of production in great quantity.

The Hurstbourne Tarrant and Andover I hoards represent a continuation of a gold hoarding tradition that had occurred north of the Isle of Wight in 60-20 BC. Previously the deposited coins were Gallo-Belgic or Solent coins, but now the staters primarily came from the Eastern Channel, with the Andover I hoard containing Tincomarus and Verica staters and the Hurstbourne Tarrant hoard containing Epaticcus staters. The distribution of these hoards in the east of the South-West British Coast potentially reflects the easier access to gold coins in the region due to its proximity to the British Kingdoms. The Bowerchalke hoard may not be associated with this period, as it contained earlier South-West British gold and silver, with the only post-30 BC inclusion being a coin of Verica, which may have been an ahistorical intrusion into the hoard during its modern recovery.²⁴⁵ Hoards in this period are almost entirely absent in the west of the South-West British Coast: either the traditional South-West British coinage continued to be used or coin use and production had ceased entirely.

The Danebury hoard, alleged to have been deposited on the hillfort's slopes, predominantly contained silver units.²⁴⁶ A number of gold staters and quarter staters were also present in the hoard, originating from the British Kingdoms, the nearby Solent region, and from Dorset. The range of coins suggests that this site served as a central location that attracted a range of visitors, and its position in central southern Britain meant that it had close access to a range of different coin-producing communities. The silver units may have been produced on the site itself, as findspots tend to be clustered around the hillfort.²⁴⁷ The presence on the site's defensive ramparts may suggest it was intentionally deposited on a boundary location, which may have had ritual significance in the Iron Age.²⁴⁸ The hoard may therefore have had a ritual purpose, which would explain the unusual presence of silver units within it, as well as the rarity of a mixed hoard containing both silver units and staters. However, the hoard's location on the hillfort slopes remains unconfirmed, and

²⁴⁵ de Jersey (2014) 411.

²⁴⁶ de Jersey (2014) 163.

²⁴⁷ Rudd (2010) 57; Portable Antiquities Scheme.

²⁴⁸ Haselgrove (1987) 133; (2015) 30; Bradley (1990) 179; Hingley (2006) 238; Fanello (2016) 93.

it is possible that the hoard may in fact have been a group of single finds from the site.²⁴⁹ This theory is tempting, given the irregular nature of its contents, so conclusions should only tentatively be drawn from this hoard.

By the time of the Julio-Claudian period, any connection between Armorican and the South-West Coast hoarding had been lost. Coin hoarding appears to have been minimal throughout Armorica and the lack of hoarding seems primarily driven by a lack of external coinage arriving in the area. Whether local coinage still remained in circulation is debated in the Silver Corridor chapter.

4.11: Chapter Summary

The Western Channel is defined by its debased silver coins and these form the majority of the hoards. However, the focus on the metal of the coinage risks ignoring the fact that the majority of coins hoarded across all periods were staters. Only 20 hoards in the Western Channel across the entirety of the study period did not contain at least one example of a stater or quarter stater (Table 4.5).²⁵⁰ It was perhaps the denomination that was of importance rather than the metal of coins. Indeed, while silver is hoarded throughout the region, silver units rarely appeared in hoards. This is partially related to availability, as most of the coins produced in the region were staters and quarter staters, but this situation is similar to that of the Eastern Channel, where non-stater coins were produced in great number, yet were rarely hoarded. The connection between staters and hoarding is explored in further detail in chapter 6.

²⁴⁹ de Jersey (2014) 163-164.

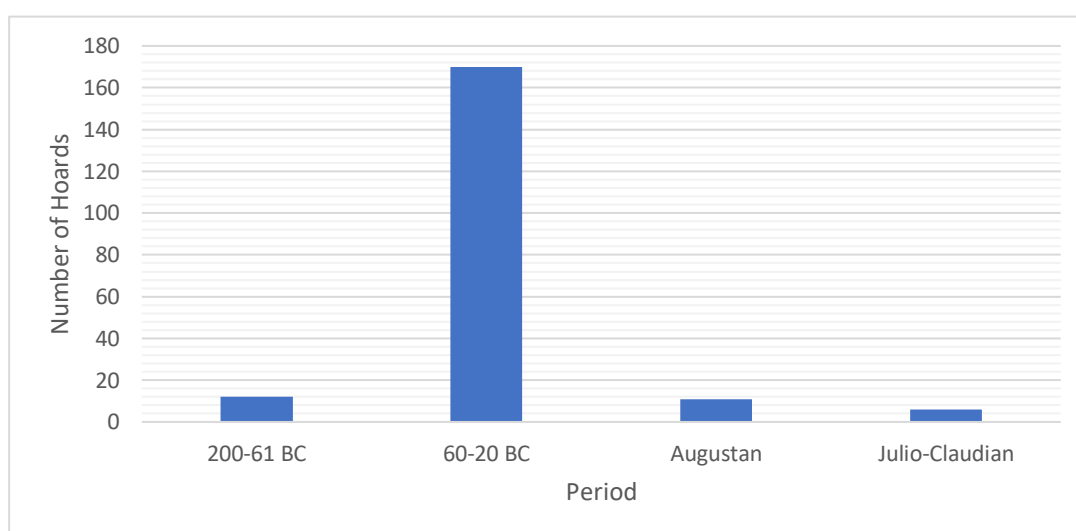
²⁵⁰ Armorica: Brech, Brest, Bruz, le Câtillon III, Coutances, Dol-de-Bretagne I, Fougères, Guimaëc, Ingrandes, Lannéanou II, Laval, Locquirec, Locronan, Quiberon I, Rennes I, Sark. South-West British Coast: Newchurch, Padstow, Paul, Penzance I.

| Composition | | Armorica | | | | South-West British Coast | | | | Total |
|---|--|-----------|----------|-----|-----|--------------------------|----------|-----|-----|-------|
| Contents | With | 200-61 BC | 60-20 BC | Aug | EJC | 200-61 BC | 60-20 BC | Aug | EJC | |
| Staters | Alone | 7 | 39 | | | 1 | 50 | | 2 | 99 |
| | quarter staters | | 20 | | | | 12 | | | 32 |
| | quarter staters and Iron Age struck silver/bronze units | | 6 | | | | 4 | 2 | 2 | 14 |
| | quarter staters, Iron Age struck silver/bronze units and potins | | 1 | | | | | | | 1 |
| | Iron Age struck silver/bronze units | | 2 | 1 | | | 2 | | | 5 |
| | quarter staters, Iron Age struck silver/bronze units and Roman coins | | | 1 | | | | | | 1 |
| | Iron Age struck silver/bronze units and Roman coins | | | 1 | | | | | | 1 |
| | tetradrachms | | | | | | 1 | | | 1 |
| Uncertain: staters and/or quarter staters | | 2 | 20 | | | | 1 | | | 23 |
| Quarter staters | Alone | | | | | | 1 | | | 1 |
| Iron Age struck silver/bronze units | Alone | | 8 | | | | | 1 | 1 | 10 |
| | Roman coins | | | 1 | | | | | | 1 |
| Potins | alone | 1 | 1 | | | | 1 | | | 3 |
| | Roman coins | | | 1 | | | | | | 1 |
| Roman coins | alone | | | 3 | 1 | | | | | 4 |
| Drachmae | alone | | | | | 1 | | | | 1 |
| Total | | 10 | 97 | 8 | 1 | 2 | 72 | 3 | 5 | 198 |

Table 4.5: Hoard composition of the Western Channel.

Difficulties in dating the coins can prevent a study of the development of coin hoarding across time. However, it would appear that low levels of hoarding were the norm in the Western Channel. 200-61 BC was a period of low hoarding, and this was also the case after the Gallic Wars (Graph 4.3). The 60-20 BC period represented a break from the norm. Hoarding also rose in 60-20 BC in the Eastern Channel, so despite difficulties in dating, this

seems to have been a Channel-wide trend. The limited number of hoards before and after 60-20 BC may be explained by the smaller number of available coins in these periods, but some of the hoards of the Augustan period, such as the Ingrandes, Upton and Quiberon hoards, contained hundreds or thousands of coins, suggesting that a lack of coinage was not necessarily an issue. Hoarding does not seem to have been a regular occurrence, at least as far as those that were not recovered are concerned. Instead, high peaks of hoarding were a reaction to a particular event, in this case Caesar's invasion and its aftermath. This peak in hoards occurred not only in the Armorica on the front lines, but also on the South-West British Coast, suggesting that the South-West British Coast was impacted by the events in Armorica. Coin hoards thus show a close connection between the two sides.



Graph 4.3: Number of hoards by allocated period in the Western Channel.

Eastern Channel coins rarely appeared in Western Channel hoards, supporting the concept that the two sides of the Channel had separate coin traditions and exchange routes. There are exceptions, such as the Trinity III hoard, which contained many hundreds of coins from eastern Gaul, but these hoards tend to be on islands, whose hoards often attract more coins from outside the region. The great number of island hoards in the region adds great variety to the otherwise bland hoarding patterns, with a large number of coins deposited from a variety of different parts of the ancient world. Most islands where hoards were located shared this tendency towards larger hoards with exotic issues and suggests that the islands' isolation from the mainland allowed for a great divergence from traditional hoarding practices.

5: The Eastern Channel

Demonstrating cross-Channel interaction in coinage in the Eastern Channel might at first glance be an easy task. From 200-61 BC, the denominations and even the style of coins used in Belgic Gaul and the British Kingdoms were close to identical. The same Gallo-Belgic coinage was used and produced in both regions and the movement of these coins from Belgic Gaul to the British Kingdoms has previously been the basis for the examination of cross-Channel interaction in coinage in the past.¹ However, I intend to demonstrate that the development of coinage in the Eastern Channel went beyond this, for there were many other points of commonality between the British Kingdoms and Belgic Gaul. The coinage in the British Kingdoms followed developments in Belgic Gaul, producing their own gold staters and eventually striking silver and bronze coinage in response to similar coinage that appeared in Belgic Gaul. Though the coinage changed dramatically, comparable developments occurred on both sides of the Channel. However, the Gallic conquest caused disruption in the cross-Channel relationship, leading to a divergence in the pattern of the hoards.

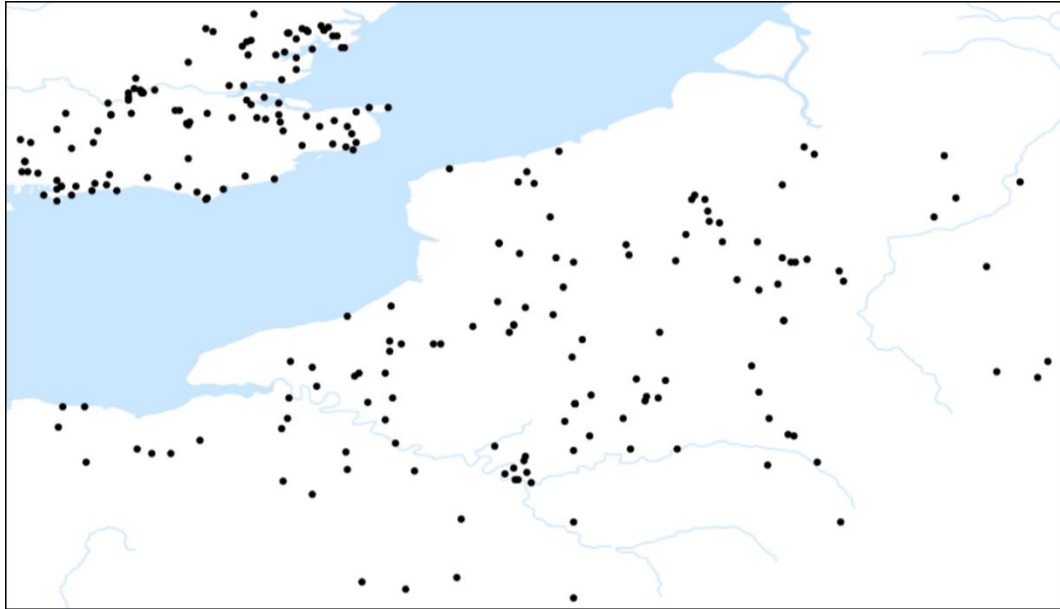
The term Belgic Gaul is used in this thesis to refer to an area that roughly corresponds to modern day Belgium, Luxembourg and the *départements* in north-east France (Map 5.1-2). The majority of the region represents the area that Caesar described as occupied by a people called the Belgae, and many of the coins attributed to the Belgic tribes mentioned by Caesar appeared in hoards throughout this region.² The region around Paris forms an approximate cut off point to the region's south. The influence of regions beyond this point on cross-Channel developments is slight as these southern regions had a different style of coinage, favouring a silver-based currency from the late 2nd century BC. This was particularly prominent in central-east Gaul, which was termed the "zone du denier" by scholars.³ The Netherlands have also been excluded from this study, for reasons outlined in the methodology, with the exception of the Amby hoard on its extreme southern border, which contained a number of Gallic coins and is geographically close to hoards of similar composition in Belgium. The Netherlands have limited use in understanding cross-Channel

¹ Sills (2003); Morris (2010) 10-13.

² Caesar, *Gallic Wars*, 2; Haselgrove (1990) 47.

³ Colbert de Beaulieu (1966b) 124; Martin (2015) 51.

developments, the primary aim of this thesis, as the *terminus post quem* of the hoards only begin from the Augustan period onwards. The Netherlands' hoards of the period under study only contained Roman coins, which is not comparable to the hoarding patterns of the region under study.⁴ There seems to be little association; the Netherlands were too far from the Channel for cross-Channel connections between coinage.



Map 5.1: Distribution of coin hoards in the Eastern Channel dating from 200 BC to AD 43. Created by author using Antiquity À-la-carte.



Map 5.2: Modern-day French départements of the Eastern Channel, www.mapchart.net/france-departments.html, accessed 21.08.2018

⁴ Crawford (1969) 138, no. 525: Bylandse Ward; 134, no. 498: Denekamp; 111, no. 354: Langelille; 140, no. 543: Oudehorne; 137, no. 518: Rossum; Coin Hoards of the Roman Empire Project: 9898, Fyns; 9985, Onna; 10053, Zoutcamp.

The British Kingdoms acts as the cross-Channel counterpart for Belgic Gaul, a region united by its preference for the hoarding of gold staters. The coins produced in the British Kingdoms were the first forms of writing to appear in Britain and bore the names of kings, some of which bore the Latin abbreviation F for *filius* to denote their predecessor.⁵ Through this, it is possible to identify two dynasties, referred to by Allen as an eastern kingdom and a southern kingdom.⁶ As a result of this tradition, I have termed the region as a whole the British Kingdoms, as a means of identification to contrast with the South-West British Coast, which has no evidence of kings. This may possibly be anachronistic; prior to the Gallic Wars no inscribed names appeared on coins and there is little evidence of any kings. Nevertheless, there is evidence of kings from the end of the Gallic Wars to beyond AD 43, covering the majority of the material, and the lack of inscribed names in earlier periods may be reflective of a lack of writing rather than a lack of kings.⁷ Indeed, Caesar referred to a number of kings in Kent during his invasion, none of whom can be associated with an inscribed name on a coin.⁸ My British Kingdoms region approximately consists of the modern-day counties of West and East Sussex, Surrey, Kent, Greater London and Essex (Map 5.3). These represent the cores of these kingdoms, as well as Kent, which are in close proximity to the Channel and are thus exposed to cross-Channel influences.



Map 5.3: Modern-day British counties of the Eastern Channel, www.mapchart.net/uk.html, accessed 21.08.2018.

⁵ E.g. ABC 1067, 2876; Williams (2007) 3.

⁶ Allen (1944).

⁷ Creighton (2000) 54.

⁸ Caesar, *Gallic Wars*, 5.22.

Suffolk and Norfolk to the north, home to the famous Icenian coinage, has not been placed within this region, as the counties are far from the Channel and the coinage tradition differs in terms of denominations and levels of debasement.⁹ The county of Hertfordshire has also been excluded; although the county would eventually become part of the Eastern Kingdoms, it contained no hoards prior to the Augustan period.¹⁰ The region's few hoards thus have little to say on the development of coinage in a cross-Channel setting before the end of indigenous coin development in Gaul. The easternmost point of the Isle of Wight forms an approximate cut-off point between the Eastern Channel and the Western Channel. Beyond this point, Solent, South-West British and Armorican coins form the majority of hoards. There is some crossover between the Eastern and Western Channel, with a number of Armorican hoards appearing in Belgic Gaul. Most of these hoards were distributed in the westernmost part of the region, appearing amongst hoards of *quinarii* in the eastern half of the Calvados *département*, and the hoards were few in number.

The Eastern Channel has been a prominent focus amongst Iron Age numismatists; Scheers and Haselgrove established interest in the region by publishing well-documented coin finds and later scholars have continued their work.¹¹ A simple reason for this focus is that the coins themselves are some of the most interesting Iron Age specimens, with a range of coin types and a large number of inscribed names, possibly providing glimpses into cultural and dynastic changes, as opposed to the homogenous, uninscribed coins of the Western Channel.¹² The coins are also much easier to date, which means it is easier to draw evidence from the material. Due to the focus on the Eastern Channel, the large number of sanctuary sites in Belgic Gaul and the coins present on these sites has received significant attention (see 6.3.3).¹³ Work on Iron Age coinage in Germany has also encouraged comparisons with nearby Belgic Gaul, reinforcing scholarly focus on this region.¹⁴

⁹ See Talbot (2017).

¹⁰ de Jersey (2014) 210-218, nos. 121-124; Sills (2017) 584-585.

¹¹ Scheers (1977); Haselgrove (1987); Creighton (2000); Sills (2003); (2017).

¹² Sills (2017) 5.

¹³ Delestrée (1984a); (2005); Clément, Gruel, Delestrée & Galliou (1987); Wellington (2005a); (2005b); Van Heesch (2005); Curteis (2006).

¹⁴ Nick (2006); Wigg-Wolf (2011); (2017); Kemmers (2017).

The Eastern Channel has extensive site find data and this has tended to be the focus of study rather than the hoards.¹⁵ Roymans, Creemers and Scheers' study is an exception, providing close analyses of recently discovered hoards in Belgium, but they recognised that such otherwise detailed hoard work is lacking.¹⁶ It is this issue that this chapter (and the wider thesis) addresses. Another exception is the potin hoards in the British Kingdoms, which have been studied in detail.¹⁷ However, these hoards have not been compared with the potin hoards in Belgic Gaul, and it is in this area that this chapter contributes to the debates surrounding the contexts of these hoards.

5.1: The Archaeological Similarities within the Eastern Channel

The similarities between the archaeology of the British Kingdoms and Belgic Gaul have been studied since the 19th century; the result of Caesar's anecdote that groups from Belgic Gaul settled the British coast.¹⁸ Initially scholars saw similarities as reflecting movements of people, but there is now a greater acceptance that cultural exchange played a greater role (2.1.2).¹⁹ Pottery and clay loom weights had similar styles across the Eastern Channel from the 6th to 4th centuries BC.²⁰ In the late Iron Age, cremation burials became the norm on both sides of the Eastern Channel.²¹ In the British Kingdoms, this would culminate in the Welwyn-style graves of the late 1st century BC, which contained ceramics of Gallic and/or Roman origin. This reflected a new style of elite representation encouraged by developments in the now Roman occupied continent, and similar style graves were present in Belgic Gaul.²²

The majority of settlements in both areas tended to be small farmsteads, most containing little more than a single or extended family group.²³ There were exceptions in the form of *oppida*. These sites were prevalent in Belgic Gaul, but they were rare in the British

¹⁵ E.g. Haselgrove (2005); Holman (2005c); Wellington (2005a); Martin (2015).

¹⁶ Roymans & Scheers (2012a) 2.

¹⁷ Haselgrove (1995); Farley (2015); Holman (2016).

¹⁸ Caesar, *Gallic Wars*, 5.12.

¹⁹ Evans (1890b); Bushe-Fox (1925); Hawkes & Dunning (1931); Hodson (1962).

²⁰ Cunliffe (1984a) 16, fig 7; (2012) 17.

²¹ Hamilton (2007) 89; Haselgrove (2007) 496; Hill (2007) 24; Lamb (2018) 337, 346.

²² Hill (2007) 28.

²³ Haselgrove (2007) 495, 506; Hill (2012) 250-251.

Kingdoms, although notable examples existed such as Camulodonum (modern-day Colchester) and Verulamium (modern-day St Albans).²⁴ The lack of *oppida* in the British Kingdoms may reflect the limited settlement evidence from c. 300-100 BC in Kent and Essex, which suggests that the region perhaps did not have the population density to encourage a large number of centralised locations.²⁵ Additionally, the few known *oppida* in the British Kingdoms developed after the Gallic Wars, so these sites in Britain seem to have developed later and under different circumstances than in Belgic Gaul.²⁶ The other common form of Iron Age settlements in the Eastern Channel were the aforementioned sanctuary sites, particularly common in the Picardy area of Belgic Gaul, but there were a number of British examples in the form of Worth, Springhead, Harlow and Hayling Island.²⁷ Coinage appears in abundance on these sites, but rarely in the form of hoards.

Certain sites can be identified as mint locations, whether temporary or long-lasting. Verulamium and Camulodonum were referenced on coin legends, which may have been an indication that these sites served as the mints of these coins.²⁸ In Belgic Gaul, coin dies and moulds have been found in *oppida* (Titelbiere, Villeneuve-Saint-Germain) and fortified sites (Mont Beauvray, Corent).²⁹ Additionally, on certain sanctuary sites (Bois l'Abbé) there were coin types present that were rarely found beyond the site, implying that these coins were produced on the site itself.³⁰ The production of coinage therefore coincided with other archaeological developments in the region, such as the increased centralisation represented by sanctuary and *oppida* sites, and improvements in technology, such as the appearance of wheel-turned pottery.³¹ Both sides of the Eastern Channel had specific regional features, but there were a number of cross-Channel similarities that had evolved throughout prehistory. Cross-Channel connections in coinage were a later part of these developments, rather than a dramatic change.

²⁴ Fernández-Götz (2018) 24, fig 1.

²⁵ Hill (2007) 18.

²⁶ Creighton (2006) 19.

²⁷ Allen (1964); Briggs, Haselgrove & King (1992); Wellington (2005a) 121; Holman (2005c) 8-10; (2011) 165-169.

²⁸ E.g. ABC 2568, 2771.

²⁹ Delestrée & Duval (1977); Malacher (1987); Wellington (2005a) 317, 320.

³⁰ Delestrée (1984a) 37.

³¹ Hamilton (2007) 81.

5.2: The Iron Age History of the Eastern Channel

The historical record for the Eastern Channel in this period is more extensive than that of the Western Channel, but is still limited. There is little record prior to the Gallic Wars. Caesar related that Belgic Gaul was composed of different political entities, eleven of which were the Belgic tribes that opposed him.³² Caesar was told that a number of these Belgic groups migrated to Britain, with the intention of raiding the region, and it is Caesar's reference to this event that spawned the migration theory of the early 20th century.³³ Despite this apparent hostility, Caesar described a king, Diviciacus, who allegedly ruled a large part of Gaul and parts of Britain during the early 1st century BC.³⁴ It is possible that this shared political leader led to an increased presence of early coins of Belgic Gaul (Gallo-Belgic) in the hoards of the British Kingdoms in 200-61 BC, but a direct link is only conjectural given the lack of any other evidence on this ruler. The Belgae also warred against the contemporary Germans and were apparently successful in resisting their incursions.³⁵ It is possible that these conflicts resulted in some or many of the unrecovered coin hoards in Belgic Gaul in 200-61 BC

During the Gallic Wars, the Belgae united against Caesar but were promptly defeated. There was continued Belgic resistance throughout the 50s BC, led by individuals such as Ambiorix.³⁶ It is suspected that the Gallic Wars led to the increased coin production of the later gold series of Belgic Gaul, and was responsible for the failure to retrieve hoards, owing to the death or flight of their owners.³⁷ During the Gallic Wars, Caesar invaded the British Kingdoms, allegedly in response to the intervention of British troops in his wars in Gaul.³⁸ This could have been a political spin to justify his invasion of Britain, but given the archaeological and historical evidence that there were political and social ties between both sides of the Channel, it is probable that the British intervention to preserve these ties was a historical reality.³⁹

³² Caesar, *Gallic Wars*, 2.4.

³³ Caesar, *Gallic Wars*, 5.12.

³⁴ Caesar, *Gallic Wars*, 2.4.

³⁵ Caesar, *Gallic Wars*, 2.4.

³⁶ Caesar, *Gallic Wars*, 5.26, 7.75.

³⁷ Scheers (1977) 67; Sills (2003) 339.

³⁸ Caesar, *Gallic Wars*, 4.20.

³⁹ Russell (2010) 37.

The nature of Caesar's invasion is debated: ancient authors such as Strabo regarded the invasion as accomplishing little, yet Creighton believes that, based on coin imagery, the invasion laid the groundwork for Roman involvement in British politics, with the British Kingdoms serving as client kingdoms under Rome.⁴⁰ Either way, the difference in hoards suggest that both sides of the Channel came under different pressures after the Gallic Wars: the contents of hoards in Belgic Gaul changed dramatically, with coin hoards of *quinarii* with Romanised designs becoming the norm, whereas the hoards in the British Kingdoms remained traditional in their composition. Nevertheless, it will be seen that Caesar's involvement had ramifications throughout the Eastern Channel.

The history of the British Kingdoms is predominantly based around the names that appeared as legends on the coins in the region. While it can be difficult to identify the nature of a number of these legends (i.e. whether they refer to a person, place or even an adjective), there are 23 separate legends in the British Kingdoms that are thought to refer to individuals.⁴¹ Of these, seven were mentioned in classical texts, including the *Res Gestae* and Suetonius, and in these accounts they were described as kings or rulers.⁴² Commios, one of the earliest (if not the first) British king to have his name inscribed on coins, may have been a Gallic ruler, as there was a Gallic Commios in Caesar's account.⁴³ While it is possible that there were two people with the same name, Caesar noted that the Gallic Commios had great influence in the British Kingdoms, suggesting he ruled both areas in a similar manner to Diviciacus.⁴⁴ Seemingly, there was a strong tradition of movement and political connection between both sides of the Eastern Channel, and this is further indicated by Caesar's description of the leaders of the Bellovaci tribe of Belgic Gaul, who fled to Britain after their defeat.⁴⁵

⁴⁰ Strabo, *Geography*, 4.5.3; Creighton (2006) 21.

⁴¹ Leins (2012) 97-98; Fanello (2016) 27-28, table 1.3.

⁴² Caesar, *Gallic Wars*, 4.21, 4.27, 4.35; 5.22, 6.6, 7.75, 7.76, 7.79; 8.6-7, 8.10-21, 8.23, 8.47-48; Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, 60.19; *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* 32; Suetonius, *Caligula*, 44; Tacitus, *Annals*, 12.33-37.

⁴³ Caesar, *Gallic Wars*, 4.21, 4.27, 4.35; 5.22, 6.6, 7.75-76, 7.79; 8.6-7, 8.10-21, 8.23, 8.47-48; Evans (1864) 154.

⁴⁴ Caesar, *Gallic Wars*, 4.21; Evans (1864) 154.

⁴⁵ Caesar, *Gallic Wars*, 2.14.

Recent research has defined the Iron Age communities of Britain and Gaul as segmentary societies, drawing on anthropological examples (e.g. the Alur in Uganda) as models.⁴⁶ In segmentary societies each small community, or even each household, has its own independence. The society is united not through a political authority but through mutual social bonds, such as family ties or through reciprocal gift exchange.⁴⁷ Such societies might have a central leadership, who rule from a political core and extract tribute from outlying communities.⁴⁸ In this sense, an Iron Age kingdom could have existed, perhaps ruled by individuals like Diviciacus and the individuals whose names were inscribed on British coins, but the groups within the kingdoms were only tenuously linked to the ruler. Power would not be defined in terms of territory but through the bonds the ruler had with individuals and communities.

5.3: Cross-Channel Trade within the Eastern Channel

Belgic Gaul and the British Kingdoms had a long history of cross-Channel exchange, seen in early movements of artistic styles, such as the Gundlingen style swords that appeared in Belgic Gaul and clustered along the Thames in Britain from the 8th to 7th centuries BC.⁴⁹ Although the sharing of artistic styles can be witnessed, there is little evidence of much movement of material from the 6th to the 2nd centuries BC, though this may relate to the limited archaeological detectability of the materials involved.⁵⁰ It is only in the period under study that extensive cross-Channel movement can be witnessed, in the form of coins and amphorae. As in the Western Channel, the movement of these objects is overwhelmingly northwards: only 32 coins from the British Kingdoms have been found in Belgic Gaul, compared to the hundreds of Gallo-Belgic coins that crossed over to Britain.⁵¹ However, Strabo reported that the Britons exported grain, cattle, gold, silver, dogs, and iron.⁵² None of these things would be detectable in the archaeological record, whereas Strabo recorded that the Britons imported ivory chains, necklaces, amber gems and glass vessels.⁵³ These imports are not evident in the archaeological record, with the exception of amber, but

⁴⁶ Southall (1999) 33; Hill (2012) 245; Sillitoe (2012).

⁴⁷ Hill (2012) 245, 247.

⁴⁸ Southall (1999) 33.

⁴⁹ Cunliffe (2001) 321, fig 8.5.

⁵⁰ Morris (2010) 10.

⁵¹ Morris (2010) 16, 157-159, appendix 1, 160-162, appendix 2.

⁵² Strabo, *Geography*, 4.5.2.

⁵³ Strabo, *Geography*, 4.5.3.

other examples of prestige goods from the Roman world do appear, such as the pottery of the Welwyn burial phenomenon and brass objects.⁵⁴ Commodities may have travelled across from both sides of the Channel, but it would seem that the Britons predominantly exported raw material and Belgic Gaul exported prestige objects.

Unlike in the Western Channel, identifying Iron Age ports is difficult in the Eastern Channel.⁵⁵ Dover, Hythe, Folkestone, Selsey, Colchester and Heybridge have been suggested as ports in the British Kingdoms, but there is only little material or settlement evidence to support these suggestions.⁵⁶ Caesar crossed from Belgic Gaul to Britain at a “*Portus Itius*”, where he believed the closest crossing to Britain was located.⁵⁷ The port’s exact whereabouts are unknown, but it was perhaps near Boulogne, which would have allowed access to Kent and the Thames.⁵⁸ This may or may not be the same site as Gesoriacum, a Gallo-Roman port mentioned by Ptolemy.⁵⁹ Ports in Belgic Gaul are difficult to detect and it is probable that various sites along riverways were used: the Thames to the Rhine and/or Seine and the Dover strait were potential cross-Channel routes.⁶⁰ Imported Gallo-Belgic coinage in the British Kingdoms clustered along the south coast and the Thames estuary, identifying these locations as areas used by cross-Channel exchange.⁶¹

5.4: Coins of the Eastern Channel

Evidence related to the dating and contexts of the Eastern Channel coinage is of a better quality than in the Western Channel. A number of coins were found in stratigraphic contexts and the large number of coins found in archaeological contexts has been exploited by Haselgrove to provide a chronology of the coins (see below).⁶² Additionally, coin iconography on the staters and quarter staters, while changing significantly throughout the period, retained elements of earlier designs (Fig 5.1). As a result, one is able to trace their evolution, providing a relative chronology. This change in iconography coincided with a

⁵⁴ Morris (2010) 30, 166-167, appendix 4.

⁵⁵ Morris (2010) 19.

⁵⁶ Wilkes (2004) 112; Willis (2007) 116.

⁵⁷ Caesar, *Gallic Wars*, 5.2

⁵⁸ Grainge (2005) 89.

⁵⁹ Ptolemy, *Geography*, 2.8; Grainge (2005) 89.

⁶⁰ Cunliffe (1981) 30; McGrail (1993) 200.

⁶¹ Leins (2012) 37.

⁶² Haselgrove (2005); Holman (2005c).

decline in precious metal content, and these changes alongside hoards have been used to understand the dating.⁶³

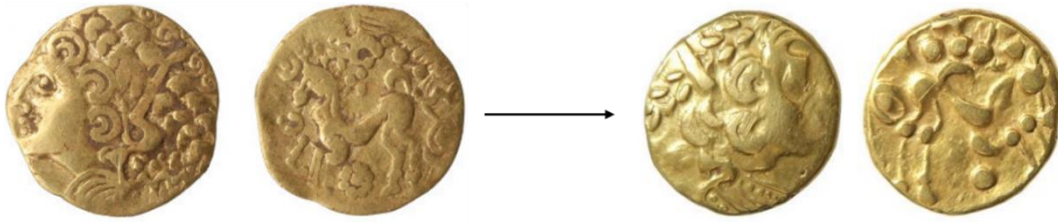


Fig 5.1: Sample of the development of coin iconography in Belgic Gaul. Gallo-Belgic A (left) to Gallo-Belgic C (right). Courtesy of the Portable Antiquities Scheme, KENT-6D2B67 to HAMP-BCCEAC.

As mentioned, a number of the legends on the coins can be compared to the textual record, allowing the reigns of kings to be approximately dated. For instance, Tincomarus and Dubnovellaunus fled to Augustus' court before the creation of the *Res Gestae* that described their flight, so they must have reigned approximately during Augustus' reign.⁶⁴ While this can only provide a rough estimate of their dates at best, the Roman authors who referred to the names displayed by the legends described events in the aftermath of Caesar's invasion, so at the very least the British inscribed coins can be dated to after the Gallic Wars.⁶⁵

In contrast, the names referred to by legends on the coins of Belgic Gaul rarely appeared in ancient texts, so as a result hoards and archaeological contexts have instead been used to date the coins.⁶⁶ Haselgrove initially dated the coins with stratigraphy, but the numbers of coin types that could be dated in this manner was limited, so he developed a new method.⁶⁷ Haselgrove measured the number of coins that appeared in certain sites for each coin type. He then noted at which sites each coin type was most prominent: if a coin type was more commonly found on sites that post-dated the Gallic Wars, such as Roman forts or agglomerations (a post-invasion settlement pattern), then the coins were given a post-Gallic Wars date, and vice-versa. The concept worked particularly well for Belgic Gaul, where there was a clear archaeological distinction before and after the Gallic Wars.

⁶³ Scheers (1977); Cowell, Oddy & Burnett (1987) 8.

⁶⁴ *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* 32; Fanello (2016) 27-28.

⁶⁵ Haselgrove (1993) 44.

⁶⁶ Haselgrove (2005) 165.

⁶⁷ Haselgrove (1993); (1999); (2005).

An overview of the dating of coins from the Eastern Channel is outlined below:

- **3rd Century BC:** half stater gold coins appeared in Belgic Gaul.⁶⁸ These include types based upon the coins of Philip II of Macedon as well as a separate series, with a different geographical distribution, based upon the coins of Taras in Italy.⁶⁹



Fig 5.2: Gallo-Belgic A, gold quarter stater, ABC 1, c. 200-80 BC, 1.82g, 15.83mm, 7 o'clock. Obv. Laureate head, l. Rev. Horse, l., stylised charioteer above, flower below. Courtesy of the Portable Antiquities Scheme, KENT-6D2B67.

- **c. 200-125 BC:** during this period, extensive regionalisation of coinage occurred throughout Gaul, leading to the appearance of the Gallo-Belgic gold staters. The first series in this coinage is known as the Gallo-Belgic A (Fig 5.2) or broad flan series. Gold staters and quarter staters of this series were prevalent throughout Belgic Gaul and the British Kingdoms.⁷⁰ It was previously believed that these coins were produced only in Belgic Gaul. However, coin dies were recently found in Kent and Norfolk.⁷¹ These dies mark the first impact of the cross-Channel influence on coinage: it facilitated the production of coins in Britain. The coin die produced one of the later Gallo-Belgic A issues. The die cannot be die-linked to any of the known examples of Gallo-Belgic A coins in either Britain or France: this early British attempt to produce a Belgic style coinage seems to have had little impact on the coinage circulating at the time, suggesting that the British Kingdoms were still reliant on Belgic imports.⁷² The lack of die links have led to suggestions that it was a forger's die, though in the Iron Age there may not have been notions of official or unofficial production.⁷³ Another possibility is that the die was a gift from Belgic

⁶⁸ Haselgrove (2005) 132, table 1.

⁶⁹ Scheers (1977) 27; Sills (2003) 97. These coins were produced outside this study's date range, so I will not go into further details here. See Sills for full overview.

⁷⁰ Allen (1960) 100-118; Sills (2003) 125.

⁷¹ Brooke (1933) 88; Allen (1960); Scheers (1977) 45; Kent (1978); Fitzpatrick (1992) 12; Haselgrove (1993) 42; Cunliffe (2001) 405; Portable Antiquities Scheme KENT-2EEAF0; NMS-0480E3; Leins & Farley (2015) 110.

⁷² Portable Antiquities Scheme KENT-2EEAF0; Leins (2014).

⁷³ Leins (2014).

Gaul, or simply that not enough Gallo-Belgic A staters are recorded: only 250 are known in the modern record.⁷⁴ However, the existence of the die signifies that connections across the Channel not only led to the transfer of the coinage as an object but it had established the conditions in the British Kingdoms to create a reliance on coinage, and this culminated in an intention to produce coins. Potins (see below) may also have been introduced in this period in Belgic Gaul, although their production would only reach its height from the late 2nd century BC.⁷⁵

- **c. 125-60 BC:** in this period, coinage underwent increased regionalisation within Belgic Gaul, with different groups creating their own gold and potin coinages.⁷⁶ The Gallo-Belgic series continued, but the flans become smaller and thicker, leading to the creation of the Gallo-Belgic C or biface series. Similar to other Gallo-Belgic coins, they appeared in significant numbers in Britain.⁷⁷ Potins, a form of cast bronze coinage with particularly abstract designs (Fig 5.3), were produced in large numbers in the British Kingdoms and Belgic Gaul.⁷⁸ Previously, they were thought to date to the 1st century BC, but it is now believed that they were produced in Belgic Gaul and inspired production in the British Kingdoms sometime in the latter part of the 2nd century BC.⁷⁹ Silver coinage from outside the region and struck bronze appeared for the first time in Belgic Gaul, but their numbers were small.⁸⁰



Fig 5.3: Flat linear Potin, Kent, Holman type B2/2-1, Allen type C/D, c. 125-60 BC, 1.6g, 17.87mm, 9 o'clock. Obv. Abstract head of Apollo, l., pierce mark at 6 o'clock. Rev. Bull, r., pierce mark at 9 o'clock. Courtesy of the Portable Antiquities Scheme, PUBLIC-351E45.

- **c. 60-20 BC:** the Gallic Wars and their aftermath caused a dramatic change in coinage on both sides of the Channel. The gold coinage, falling in weight and fineness gradually throughout the preceding period, declined sharply in fineness. Northover's metal analysis of 21 wartime Gallo-Belgic E coins (also known as the

⁷⁴ Leins (2014).

⁷⁵ Wellington (2005a).

⁷⁶ Haselgrove (2005) 132, table 1.

⁷⁷ Leins (2012) 77, fig 4.4.

⁷⁸ Haselgrove (1993) 35, table 1.

⁷⁹ Allen (1971); Haselgrove (1993) 35, table 1; (1995) 120; (2005) 132, table 1.

⁸⁰ Allen (1971); Haselgrove (1993) 35, table 1; (1995) 120; (2005) 132, table 1.

uniface series) demonstrated that they were only 48.89-62.76% gold, down from 60.17-86.12% fineness from the 11 earlier Gallo-Belgic A examples Northover tested.⁸¹ On both sides of the Channel, coins with inscribed names appeared for the first time and came to be the norm on coinages of all metals.⁸² Coins on the *quinarius* standard, a Roman silver denomination smaller than the *denarius*, appeared in significant numbers in this period in Belgic Gaul with a variety of inscribed names. Some may have been produced in Belgic Gaul, but many of the examples in hoards originate from central and central-east Gaul.⁸³ In Belgic Gaul, the production and widespread use of gold coinage seemed to have ceased by the end of the Gallic Wars, yet potin production and use continued, though struck bronze and silver was seemingly replacing it.⁸⁴ In contrast, gold coinage continued to be produced in extensive numbers in Britain, but potin production seems to have ended during the start of this period.⁸⁵ Struck silver and struck bronze were also produced in the British Kingdoms for the first time.

- **The Augustan (20 BC-AD 14) to Early Julio-Claudian (AD 15-43) periods:** among the British Kingdoms, the inscribed coinage continued as it had previously, with little change aside from an increase in the scale of production, particularly amongst the coins of the early 1st century AD under Cunobelin (Fig 5.4).⁸⁶ By contrast, coin production in Belgic Gaul slowed, and Roman coinage entered the region in large numbers.⁸⁷ By Tiberius' reign, Gallic coin production ceased and seems to have fallen out of use, whereas the Iron Age coinage of the British Kingdoms continued until the Claudian invasion.⁸⁸

⁸¹ Northover (1992) 281-282.

⁸² Scheers (1977) 110; Haselgrove (1993) 35, table 1; (2005) 132, table 1.

⁸³ Colbert de Beaulieu (1966b) 124; Martin (2015) 51.

⁸⁴ Haselgrove (2005) 163-164; Wellington (2005a) 330-331.

⁸⁵ Haselgrove (1995) 124-125; Holman (2016) 10.

⁸⁶ Fitzpatrick (1992) 27; Leins (2012) 65; de Jersey (2014) 49.

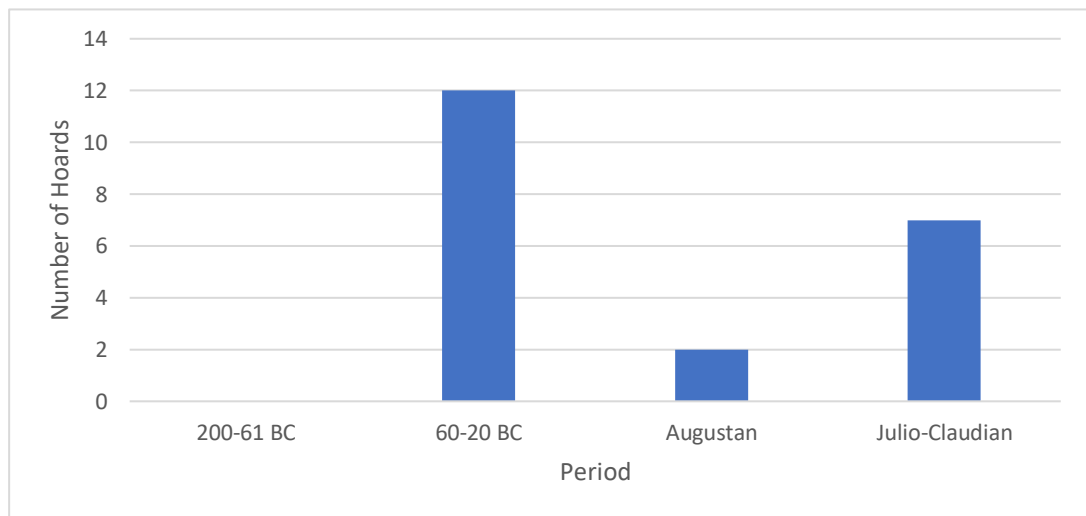
⁸⁷ Haselgrove (2005) 132, table 1.

⁸⁸ Martin (2015) 327.



Fig 5.4: Cunobelin, gold stater, Camulodonum, ABC 2774, AD c. 10-40, 5.6g, 18mm, die axis not recorded. Obv. CAMV, barley stalk. Rev. Horse, right, branch above, CVN below. Courtesy of the Portable Antiquities Scheme. LANCUM-SFE7DC.

The uninscribed South Thames gold staters (also known as British A) have a controversy surrounding their dating.⁸⁹ Haselgrove dates these coins to c. 80-60 BC based on their iconography, whereas de Jersey and Rudd date these coins to the 50-20 BC period.⁹⁰ Using my dataset, it is apparent that these coins should be placed in the 60-20 BC period (Graph 5.1). These coins appeared in hoards amongst other coins and, were one to remove the South Thames gold staters, the *terminus post quem* of the majority of these hoards dates to after 60 BC. It thus seems probable that these coins were primarily deposited after the Gallic Wars, so these coins are dated to 60-20 BC for the purpose of this study.



Graph 5.1: Terminating date of hoards that contained South Thames gold types (not including the South Thames types themselves).

⁸⁹ ABC 485-512.

⁹⁰ Haselgrove (1993) 35, table 1; Rudd (2010) 47; de Jersey (2014) e.g. 230, no. 133.

5.5: Hoard Contexts

| Context | | British Kingdoms | | | | | Belgic Gaul | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|--|------------------|----------|-----|-----|-------|-------------|----------|-----|-----|-------|
| Date | | 200-61 BC | 60-20 BC | Aug | EJC | Total | 200-61 BC | 60-20 BC | Aug | EJC | Total |
| Near to signs of Iron Age habitation | | | 1 | | 1 | 2 | | 1 | 1 | | 2 |
| Settlement | Major settlement (hillfort/ <i>oppidum</i>) | 1 | | | 1 | 2 | | 4 | | | 4 |
| | Sanctuary/ <i>fanum</i> | | 1 | | 1 | 2 | 2 | 18 | | | 20 |
| | Foundation gulley | 1 | | | | 1 | 1 | | | | 1 |
| | Ditch | 2 | | | | 2 | | 1 | | | 1 |
| In or near river | | 1 | 1 | 1 | | 3 | 2 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 9 |
| Beach or cliff deposit | | | 3 | | 1 | 4 | | 1 | | | 1 |
| Close to finds of IA or Roman pottery | | 1 | 2 | | 1 | 4 | | | | | |
| Close to burial | | | | | | | | 1 | 1 | | 2 |
| Near to post-AD 43 building | Villa | | | | | | | 2 | | | 2 |
| | Other | 1 | | | | 1 | | | 1 | | 1 |
| Spring? | | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 3 | | | | | |
| Barrow? | | | 1 | | | 1 | | | | | |
| Total | | 7 | 10 | 2 | 6 | 25 | 5 | 33 | 4 | 1 | 29 |

Table 5.1: Contexts of hoards in the Eastern Channel.

A small, but notable number of coin hoards have details regarding the context of their findspot. One of the more common hoard contexts was alluvial contexts. In Belgic Gaul, these occurred in or on the banks of rivers, and a significant concentration of river hoards were present in and around Paris. In the British Kingdoms, there were also a number of hoards deposited in a river context, notably the Chetney hoard deposited on an island in the river Medway. The sea was a particularly important context for the British Kingdoms, as four beach/cliffs hoards have been uncovered, compared to one such context noted in Belgic Gaul.⁹¹ This is related to the close proximity of the majority of Iron Age coin finds in the British Kingdoms to the sea, whereas coins in Belgic Gaul are found more inland.⁹²

⁹¹ British Kingdoms: Clacton I & II, Fairlight, Selsey. Belgic Gaul: Sangatte.

⁹² Morris (2010) 11-12, figs 2.1-2.3; Leins (2012) 62, fig 3.22, 74, fig 4.1.

This evidence supports theories that there was some association between water and the deposition of Iron Age coinage.⁹³ This can also be seen in Strabo's description of the Iron Age practice of depositing objects in sacred lakes.⁹⁴ However, most hoards in my dataset do not readily have a relationship with any nearby water features, so they should not be considered a common context. Additionally, rivers are ideal locations for habitation and finds found along them may simply reflect settlement patterns rather than votive causes. Indeed, a high proportion of Gallo-Belgic coins are found near the coast in the British Kingdoms: rather than a link to the religious association of the sea, this may reflect the role of the sea in how these coins arrived in Britain, with port sites dispersing coins across the coast.⁹⁵ Nevertheless, alluvial hoard contexts occurred on both sides of the Eastern Channel, and on some occasions the coins were found in the river themselves, indicative of planned non-recovery.⁹⁶ Rivers had some importance and were perhaps venerated by the inhabitants of both regions, but while the association with coins can be demonstrated in some contexts, its extent has perhaps been exaggerated.⁹⁷

Many hoards have been identified at sanctuary sites in Belgic Gaul but only two hoards in the British Kingdoms may have been deposited at such sites.⁹⁸ This is somewhat of an overrepresentation on the part of Belgic Gaul: at Bois l'Abbé, 16 separate hoards were found on the same site. In reality, hoards can only be found at four separate sites in Belgic Gaul. There are sanctuary sites that contained many coins, but only rarely were structured deposits of two or more coins present.⁹⁹ It is probable that the abundance of sanctuary sites in Belgic Gaul results in a greater number of hoards on these sites than in the British Kingdoms, rather than Belgic Gaul being particularly unusual. The Ognon potin hoard is of particular interest, as it was found beneath the Roman temple and may have served as a foundation deposit.¹⁰⁰ The sanctuary site hoards were a different phenomenon to the hoards outside of such sites, and this distinction is discussed elsewhere (6.3.3).

⁹³ Haselgrove (2005) 146.

⁹⁴ Strabo, *Geography*, 4.1.13.

⁹⁵ Haselgrove (1987) 115-117.

⁹⁶ Chetney, Paris (Charenton).

⁹⁷ Aldhouse-Green (1986) 126.

⁹⁸ Orsett, Selsey.

⁹⁹ Martin, François & Lorho (2016) 40.

¹⁰⁰ Wellington (2005a) 206, fig 5.7.

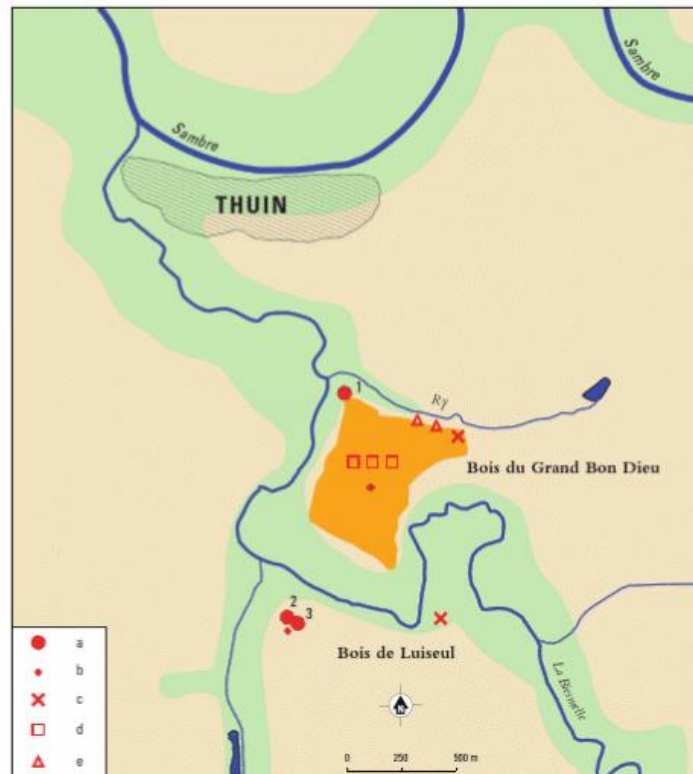
I believe that the reported barrow contexts are inaccurate. The circumstances surrounding the context of these hoards (Stoke, West Wittering) remains uncertain, and the association of the hoards and these supposed contexts may have more to do with the preconceptions of “prehistoric” hoards (see 4.6). Indeed, it has been suggested that the “barrow” near the West Wittering hoard may in fact have been a sand dune.¹⁰¹ The Tilly-Cappelle hoard was found near or in an inhumation and consisted entirely of Roman coins terminating in Augustan issues, supporting theories that the burial of coins in Belgic Gaul only occurred during the time of Augustus (4.6). However, the deposition of hoards as part of these burials was a rarity. The hoard with the spring context is discussed in detail below (5.7.3).

A number of hoards were buried near or in settlement sites. The majority were in Belgic Gaul, but this is possibly an overrepresentation, as three of the hoards (the Thuin hoards) came from the same location, thus the larger number does not reflect a more widespread practice in Belgic Gaul than the British Kingdoms. The Hascombe and Pommiers hoards were found in a hillfort and *oppidum* respectively: the Hascombe hoard contained three potins and the Pommiers hoard consisted of over a hundred Gallic and Roman silver coins. This contrasts with the majority of hoards in the region, which consisted predominantly of gold staters. There seems to have been a trend towards lower value denominations at these sites, which is also confirmed by single coin finds (6.2.1). There were a number of hoards close to finds of pottery that were not the hoards’ containers, which could be signs of local habitation.¹⁰² However, the number of coin hoards known to have been deposited in close proximity to an Iron Age or Roman site is low. This may be the result of the lack of excavation in the vicinity of settlements, as the Thuin hoards were deposited some distance from the nearby hillfort (Map 5.4).¹⁰³ It cannot yet be identified whether the hoards were truly isolated, which is why the wider archaeological contexts of hoards needs further investigation and excavation (2.3).

¹⁰¹ Haselgrove (1987) 297.

¹⁰² Colchester II, Farnham (Surrey), Kingsclere, Wandsworth.

¹⁰³ de Jersey (2014) 52; Martin, François and Lorho (2016) 48.



Map 5.4: Location of the Thuin hoards (I, II and III, represented by red dots) and their relationship to the hillfort (outlined in orange) (Scheers, Creemers, Roymans & Van Impe (2012) 72, fig. 1).

The Takeley and possibly the Saint-Denis-lès-Sens hoards were each found in the gully or posthole of an Iron Age house, although, in the case of the latter, it is possible that the excavation of the posthole may have disturbed an unrelated hoard.¹⁰⁴ These may have served as a foundation deposits, often associated with votive acts, on the grounds that such hoards tend to be unrecoverable.¹⁰⁵ However, this theory is more applicable to the stone structures of the Mediterranean, whereas Iron Age round houses were temporary structures and would not have lasted more than two years in the weather conditions of north-west temperate Europe.¹⁰⁶ In such conditions, the hoard could be recovered. The hoard was secure, yet retrievable, so it could have been a means to store the coins for later use.

¹⁰⁴ Martin, François & Lorho (2016) 46.

¹⁰⁵ Manning (1972) 241; Blackwell (2018) 517.

¹⁰⁶ Reynolds (1979) 101.

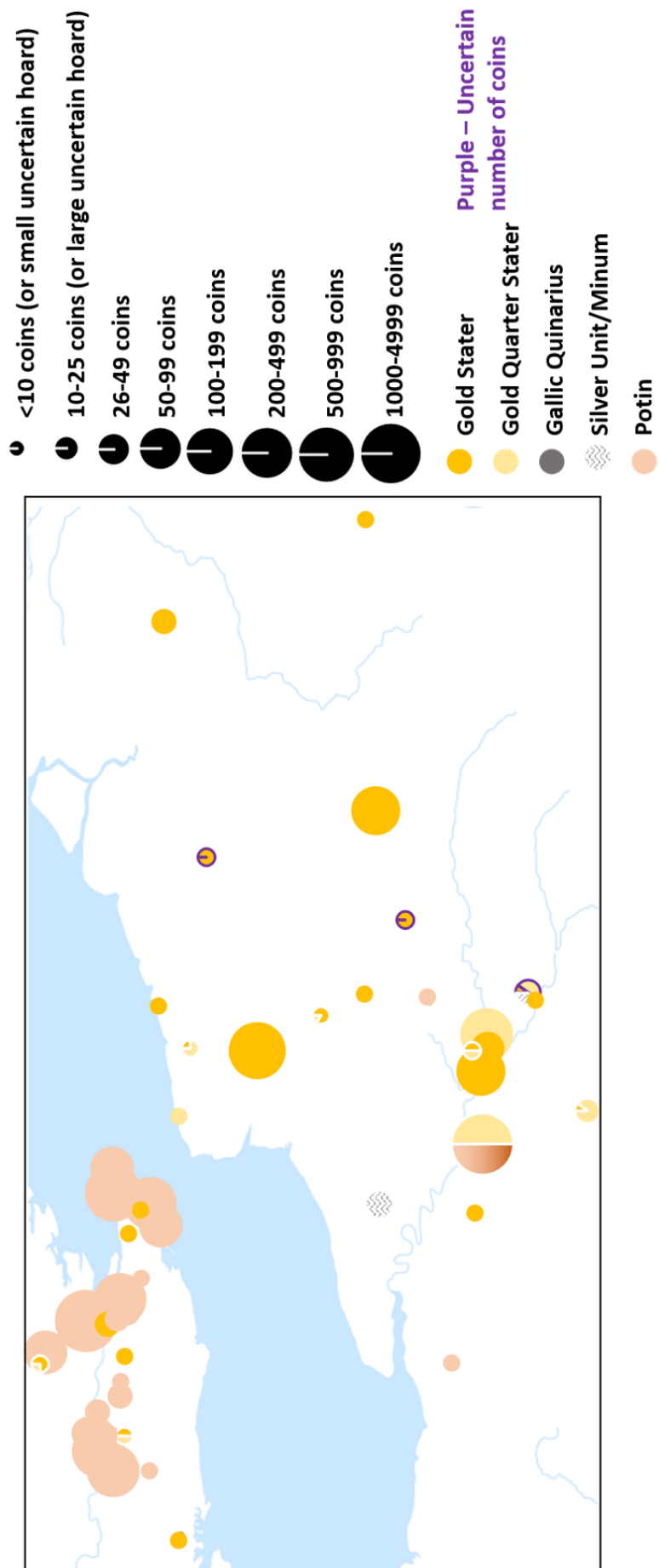
5.6: Hoards of Coins Dating to 200-61 BC

The 200-61 BC period represents the beginnings of coin hoarding on both sides of the Eastern Channel (Map 5.5-7). This section discusses two major findings that can be observed across the period. The first is that gold staters were hoarded across the Eastern Channel. The other finding might appear (wrongly) to have no connection across the Channel. Potin hoards were dominant in the British Kingdoms but were almost entirely absent from Belgic Gaul in 200-61 BC. However, while the *terminus post quem* of the coins date the potin hoards to this period, I suspect that their deposition relates to the situation in Belgic Gaul in 60-20 BC.

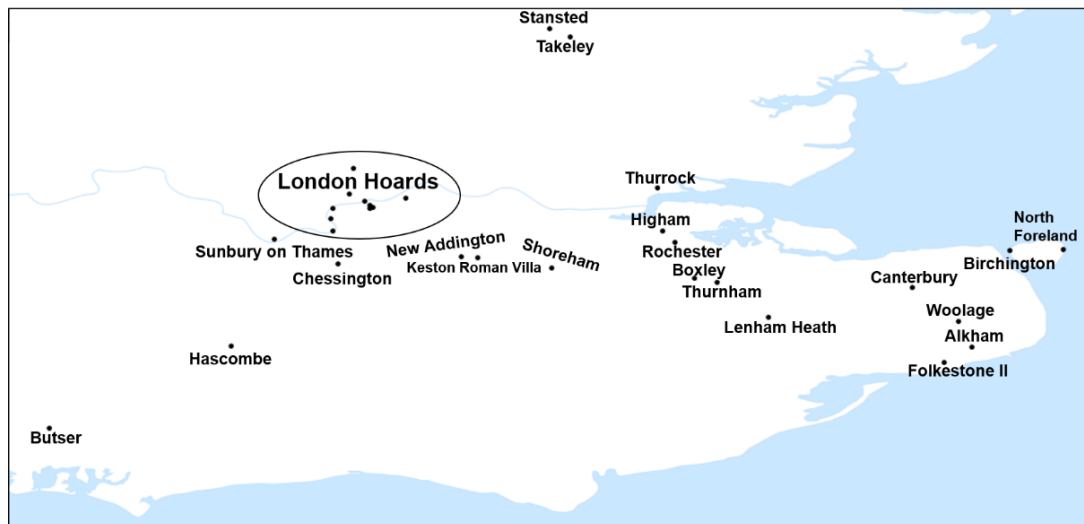
All the denominations produced in this period (gold staters, gold quarter staters, silver units and potins) appeared in at least one hoard dated to this period. However, the scale in which each denomination was hoarded differed on both sides of the Channel. Iron Age silver coins were only hoarded in Belgic Gaul. In this period, silver coins were rare in the region, hence their lack of hoarding relates to the lack of availability and/or lack of familiarity with using silver coinage. The only hoard that was comprised entirely of struck silver was small, and the coins (DT 188-190) are difficult to date and may not even date to this period.¹⁰⁷ The production of silver coins in Belgic Gaul was too limited to inspire a similar development in the British Kingdoms in this period. This is confirmed by Caesar's comment that the Britons utilised gold and bronze coins, seemingly referencing gold staters/quarter staters and potins, but not silver.¹⁰⁸ Silver coinage would have been unfamiliar to the British Kingdoms at this time, further explaining its lack of deposition, but it must be acknowledged that the lack of silver hoarding continued beyond this period, so this appears to have been part of a longer cultural or economic trend, which did not value silver in hoards.

¹⁰⁷ La Rue-Saint-Pierre.

¹⁰⁸ Caesar, *Gallie Wars*, 5.12; Haselgrove (1995) 124.



Map 5.5: Composition of hoards in the Eastern Channel allocated to 200-61 BC. Created by author using Antiquity À-la-carte.



Map 5.6: Hoards in the British Kingdoms allocated to 200-61 BC. Created by author using Antiquity À-la-Carte.



Map 5.7: Hoards in Belgic Gaul allocated to 200-61 BC. Created by author using Antiquity À-la-Carte.

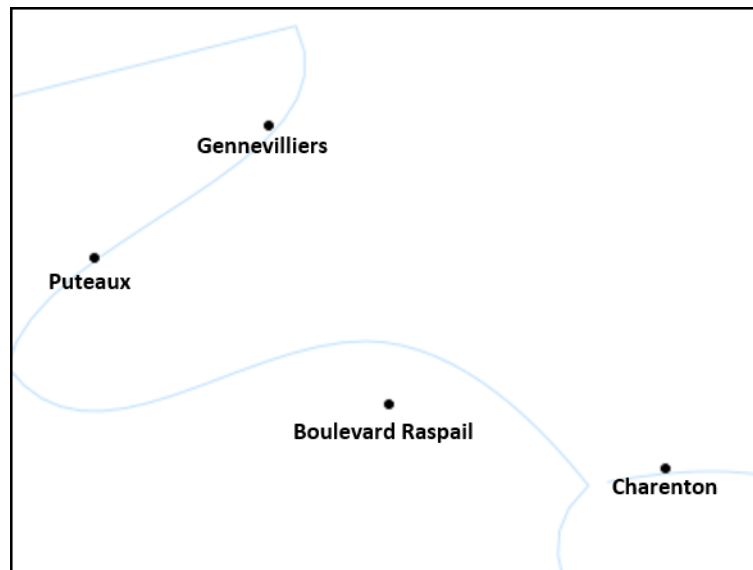
Gold staters and potins were instead the preeminent coins hoarded in this period. They were produced and hoarded on both sides of the Channel; a demonstration that the British Kingdoms were echoing the coinage of Belgic Gaul. However, the proportions in which these coins were hoarded differed; gold staters were commonly hoarded in Belgic Gaul, whereas potins were preferred in the British Kingdoms. The pattern is almost inverse; Belgic Gaul had large hoards (in the hundreds) of gold staters (e.g. Saint Preuve/Boncourt and Saint-Pol-sur-Ternoise), but its potin hoards contained less than ten coins (Ognon and Saint-Pierre-des-Ifs). In contrast, gold stater hoards in the British Kingdoms rarely contained more than ten coins, yet the potin hoards were large, regularly in the tens, if not the hundreds (Alkham, Birchington, Brentford, Sunbury on Thames) or even the thousands (the Thurrock hoard). Despite this major distinction, both sides of the Channel shared the same hoarding practice in separating the potins from the staters. Potins and gold staters were

never hoarded together in this period. Belgic Gaul inspired the production of staters and potins in the British Kingdoms, and established the norms surrounding their use: that they should be kept separate. However, evidently different circumstances on both sides of the Channel resulted in different denominations being favoured in hoards.

The lack of large hoards of more than 100 staters in Britain was partially related to limited accessibility; coin production was only in its infancy in Britain at this time and the Gallo-Belgic examples mostly came from Gaul, hence Britons were relying on imports. Additionally, Gallo-Belgic coins were less common in this period than in 60-20 BC, hence the coins may have had greater value due to their rarity, so only small hoards were needed.¹⁰⁹ However, the larger hoards of gold staters in Belgic Gaul were in the minority, and small hoards of staters and quarter staters seemed to have been the norm. The small hoards of the British Kingdoms were thus not exceptional and reflected that there was a general expectation across the Channel that staters would rarely be used in large numbers.

However, there was clearly some purpose in depositing large numbers of staters, hence the gold hoards of over 100 coins in Belgic Gaul. Two of these hoards were in the Paris region (Map 5.8). The Puteaux hoard was comprised primarily of Parisii class 5 and 6 coins, whereas the Charenton hoard contained only quarter staters. The Saint-Pol-sur-Ternoise hoard to the north was comprised entirely of Gallo-Belgic C issues and the Saint Preuve hoard contained only coins of a series known as *globules à la croix*. Each hoard was distinct in its contents, yet within each hoard the contents were fairly homogenous. The homogenous nature of large hoards suggests that coin types (i.e. a particular image and/or metal and shape) were either important to depositors, so they were selective even in large hoards, or these hoards were deposited close to certain mint locations, hence they had access to a large number of coins of a particular style.

¹⁰⁹ Leins (2012) 75-79, figs 4.2-6.



Map 5.8: Paris hoards allocated to 200-61 BC. Created by author using *Antiquity À-la-carte*.

It is probable that the gold coins hoarded in Britain were mostly of Gallic origin, given that the earliest coin die in the region did not appear to have struck many coins (5.4). This indicates that in this period gold coinage was utilised in long distance exchanges over the Channel and served as a medium between groups that would not have had daily contact. The nature of these exports remains under question; they have been related to migration and to invasion, or to the purchase of British mercenaries for the Gallic Wars.¹¹⁰ These arguments are all fundamentally based upon Caesar's account of his campaign and his recollection of local stories, which may or may not be accurate.¹¹¹ It is more plausible that the A-C Gallo-Belgic coinage, based on the large chronological range of these coins in Britain, were part of a long-term movement rather than a one-off event such as the Gallic Wars.¹¹² The maintenance of cross-Channel political alliances or the use of the coins in cross-Channel commercial exchange are possible reasons for their movement.

The hoards in Belgic Gaul were scattered widely (Map 5.6-7). There is a concentration of hoards around Paris, all of which contained coins attributed to the Parisii tribe. These Parisii

¹¹⁰ Allen (1960) 101-102; Kent (1978); Cunliffe (1981) 33; Sills (2003) 339.

¹¹¹ Caesar, *Gallic Wars*, 2.4, 4.20, 5.12.

¹¹² Nash (1984) 103-104; Fitzpatrick (1992) 16; Haselgrove (1993) 36.

coins were rarely found in hoards any great distance away, implying the concentration was centred around their place of production. The scattered nature of the other hoards throughout Belgic Gaul would seem to suggest that the hoards in this period were not a response to a particular event, otherwise one would expect to see a dense cluster of hoards of similar compositions, which would reflect communities responding in a similar manner to the same event. Instead, the small size and the wide distribution of the hoards in Belgic Gaul suggests intermittent coin hoarding, their deposition either a means of hoarding wealth or a response to local concerns, and their non-recovery was due to chance rather than a specific event. In contrast, there were the potin hoards in the British Kingdoms. These were dense clusters of hoards containing similar coins. They also contrast with the wider coin hoarding patterns of small-scale gold deposition across the Eastern Channel. These hoards seem to have been a specific regional response to an event and as a result are worthy of a detailed discussion.

5.6.1: The Potin Hoards

The extensive potin hoarding of the British Kingdoms is one of the few phenomena of Iron Age coin hoards to have been researched in some detail.¹¹³ While the patterns of gold stater hoarding were similar across the Eastern Channel, the potin hoards had different circumstances surrounding their deposition. In only two examples in my entire dataset were potins and gold staters hoarded together, both dating to 60-20 BC.¹¹⁴ As a result, the role of potins in hoards and perhaps in wider Iron Age society seemingly differed to that of the staters.

There is considerable controversy in the interpretation of the role of potins. Haselgrove suggests that potins were “special purpose” money, serving only a few functions, such as aiding in transactions of particular subsistence items, as opposed to gold coinage serving in higher value transactions in elite circles.¹¹⁵ Farley suggests that the later potins served as an early form of monetary exchange, as the denomination is commonly found in settlement contexts.¹¹⁶ Farley concluded that the potin hoards reflected a “crash” in the value of

¹¹³ Farley (2015); Holman (2016).

¹¹⁴ Labuissière II, Peissant.

¹¹⁵ Haselgrove (1979) 205.

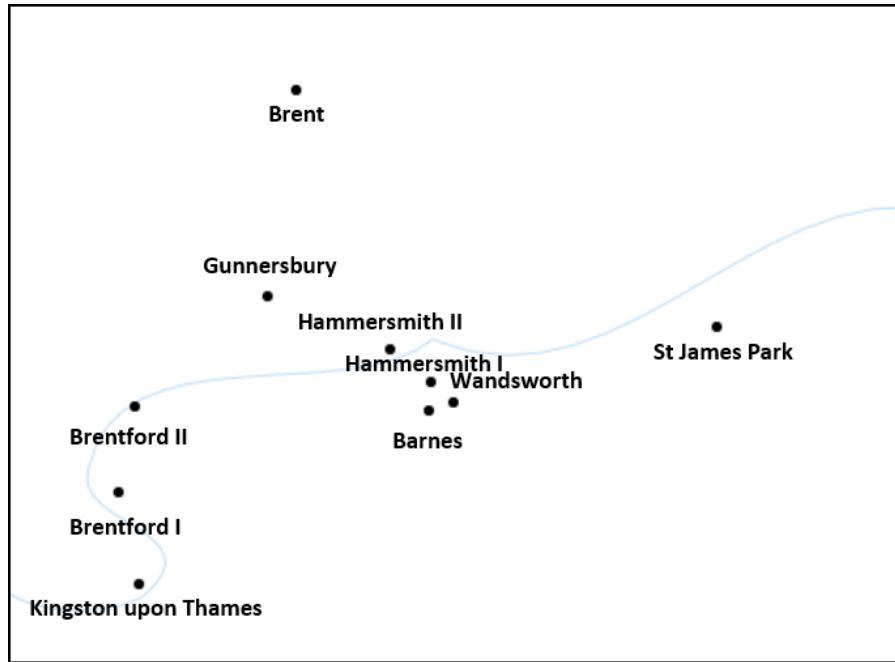
¹¹⁶ Farley (2015) 48.

potins caused by an increase in the number of Gallo-Belgic coins.¹¹⁷ This is part of a wider approach of prehistorians towards hoards; similar arguments have been made for the 9th to 7th centuries BC bronze axe head hoards that may have been deposited in response to iron becoming the favoured metal, thus causing a crash in the value of bronze.¹¹⁸ However, Gallo-Belgic coins were present in large numbers in Belgic Gaul, yet no large potin hoards can be allocated to 200-61 BC, so while a crash may have occurred, an increase in Gallo-Belgic coins is unlikely to have been the cause.

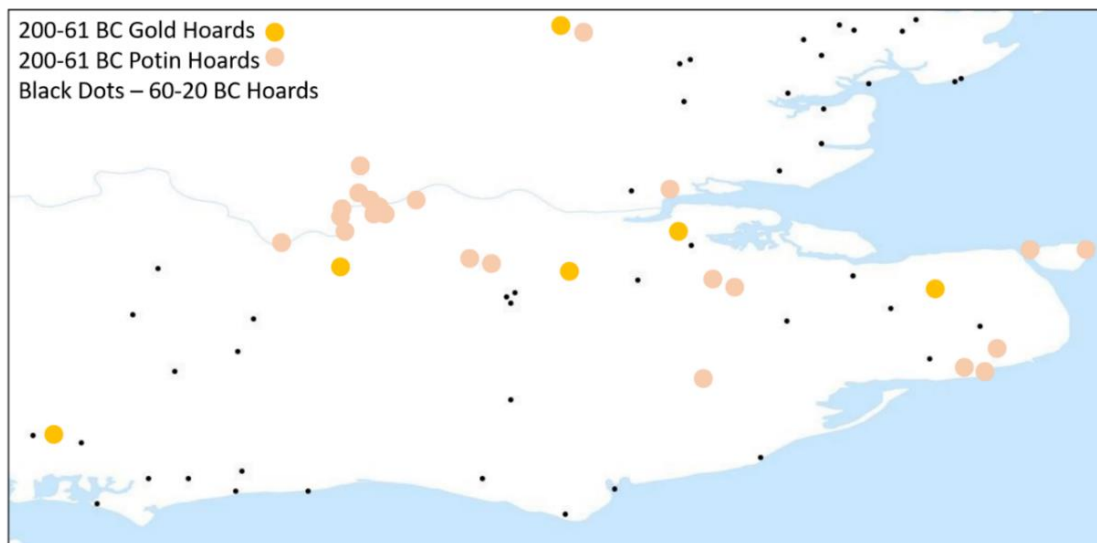
New insights can be gained through comparing the distribution of potin hoards with hoards that did not contain potins. The potin hoards of the British Kingdoms mostly appeared in Kent and London (Maps 5.9-10). There was a cluster of hoards in eastern Kent and a dense cluster along the Thames. The gold hoards rarely formed part of these clusters and were often interspersed between them (particularly seen in the Canterbury and Woolage hoards in eastern Kent, which were further inland than the potin hoards). Additionally, the potin hoard distribution differed from the hoard distribution of the British Kingdoms allocated to 60-20 BC, when the hoards were predominantly distributed to the south and north of this region, with few new hoards in the area previously dominated by potin hoards. This is particularly noticeable in the London region, where there is a distinct lack of hoards without potins. Whilst excavation and metal detecting in London is difficult, which limits the number of hoards able to be discovered, this has not proved an issue for the discovery of the potin hoards. Therefore, the presence of potin hoards and the lack of hoards without potins in London should be considered a historical reality. These areas were specifically hoarding potins (or at least hoards of other denominations were all recovered), so there must have been a particular intention behind this pattern of hoards, which this section aims to identify.

¹¹⁷ Farley (2015) 48-49.

¹¹⁸ Henderson (2007) 95.



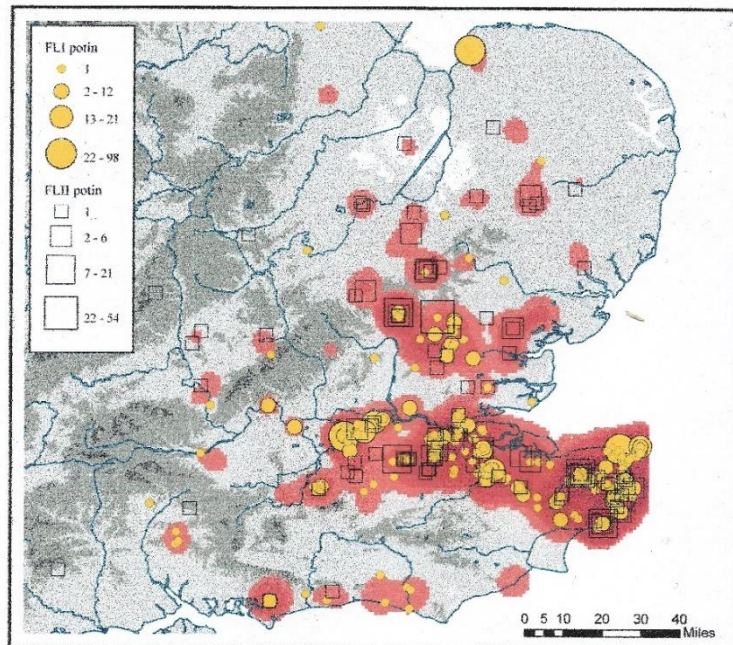
Map 5.9: London hoards allocated to 200-61 BC. Created by author using Antiquity À-la-carte.



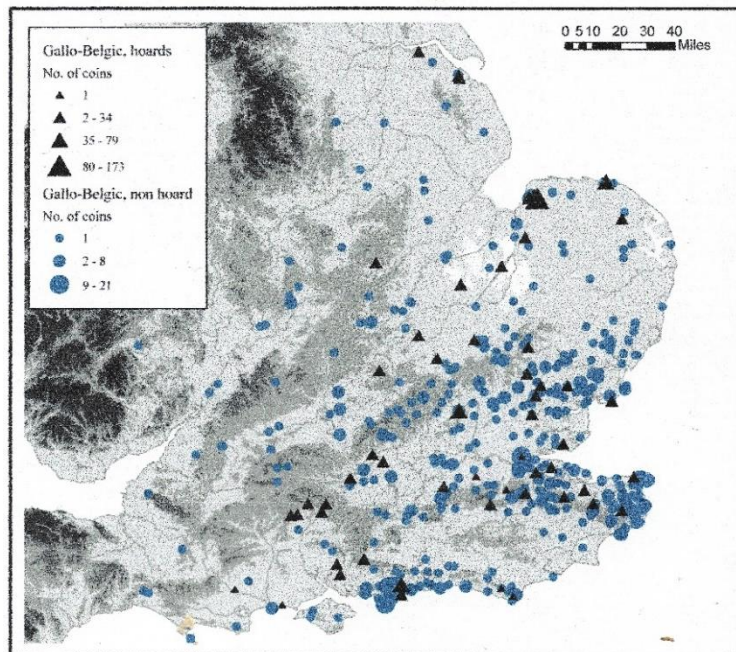
Map 5.10: Distribution of potin hoards in the British Kingdoms in comparison to later hoards. Created by author using Antiquity À-la-Carte. Graphs not to scale of the size of the hoards.

The distinction between potin and stater hoards was not related to their local availability. The distribution of single finds of each denomination broadly matches (Maps 5.11-12), although it must be noted that gold staters are uncommon in the London region dominated by the potin hoards. Nevertheless, even on the north Kent coast, potin hoards were common and stater hoards were rare. The depositors of these areas potentially had access to both denominations but chose to keep them separate, as they did in Belgic Gaul. The only potential factor that may have impacted availability was social class, as it is probable that gold staters were more difficult to gain than bronze potins for those with limited

means. However, the Thurrock hoard contained 2150 potins: the individual or community who owned such a large number of these coins would surely have had the means to obtain at least a few staters. Despite this, no staters were present.



Map 5.11: Heatmap of the distribution of flat linear potins (Leins (2012) 112, fig 4.33).



Map 5.12: Distribution of Gallo-Belgic coins in Britain (Leins (2012) 74, fig 4.1).

The separation between staters and potins in hoards suggests that they served different roles.¹¹⁹ Site finds from East Kent demonstrate the distinction between staters and potins: 45% of the site finds from eight sites were potins, compared to 3.4% of the gold finds.¹²⁰ Staters and quarter staters are more commonly found in rural locations than on settlement sites, perhaps suggesting that potins saw more regular use on settlements, whereas the use of staters only occurred rarely.¹²¹ Additionally, Gallic and British potins do not appear alongside one another in hoards, despite a small number of British potins (16) and Belgic potins (99) crossing over the Channel and a punch used to produce potin casts of a Belgic Gaul type being found in Hampshire.¹²² This stands in contrast to the hoards of imported Gallo-Belgic coins in the British Kingdoms, again suggesting that the norms surrounding the use of potins and staters differed. This is apparent in Belgic Gaul; potin hoards were rare until 60-20 BC, but even after 60 BC, the vast majority of hoards that contained potins were also kept separate from the staters, even though the potins were regularly hoarded with other denominations such as struck bronze.¹²³ The idea that these two systems should be kept separate was shared across the Channel, suggesting similar cultural circumstances encouraged their separation or the British Kingdoms were looking to Belgic Gaul as a model of how to use coinage.

The hoarding of potins in the British Kingdoms seems to have occurred over a short period. Based upon Allen's potin classifications (alphabetically arranged in chronological order), it has been suggested that potin hoards contained a range of different series, indicating that potin deposition occurred over a long period of time.¹²⁴ However, with greater data available for potin hoards, this seems to not be the case. While there is indeed variation in the classes of potin within hoards, most of the potin hoards terminated in the later Allen class L or M-P (Table 5.2). A number of the hoards, such as Birchington, Brentford I, St James Park and Sunbury-on-Thames, also have a similar composition in terms of classes of potins present within them. Many of the potin hoards appear to have been drawn from the

¹¹⁹ Collis (1971) 79; Haselgrove (1993) 50; (1995) 124. *Contra*: Fitzpatrick (1992) 22.

¹²⁰ Holman (2005c) 35.

¹²¹ Holman (2005c) 38.

¹²² de Jersey (2006) 129-135; Morris (2010) 157-159, appendix 1; Portable Antiquities Scheme SUR-08FD05.

¹²³ 200-61 BC: Ognon, Saint-Pierre-des-Iles. 60-20 BC: Blicquy, Brionne, Châlons-sur-Marne, Chilly, Fraire I, Molliens-Dreuil, Pernois, Pommeroeul, Reims, Saint-André-sur-Cailly. Sainte-Beuve-en-Rivière. Gold and potins together: Dammartin-en-Serve?, Labuissière II, Peissant. Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives.

¹²⁴ Allen (1971); Haselgrove (1993) 51.

same circulation pool, which implies that the hoards were deposited in a similar time frame. Recently, Holman has produced a new classification scheme for potins, utilising the increased number of potin hoards and finds.¹²⁵ Holman's classification system supports the same conclusion, with nine hoards ending in potins classified F (Table 5.3), confirming the idea that their time of deposition coincided.

| Hoard (Kent, London, Surrey or Essex) | A | B | C | D | E | F | G | H | J | K | L | M-P |
|---------------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|-----|
| Alkham (K) | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Barnes (classes uncertain) (L) | | | | | | | | ? | ? | | ? | |
| Birchington (K) | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Boxley (K) | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Brent (L) | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Brentford I (L) | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Folkestone II (K) | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Gunnersbury (L) | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Hammersmith I (L) | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Hammersmith II (L) | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Kingston Upon Thames (L) | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Lenham Heath (K) | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| New Addington (S) | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| North Foreland (K) | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| St James' Park (L) | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sunbury-on-Thames (L) | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Takeley (E) | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Thurnham (K) | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Wandsworth (L) | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Table 5.2: Flat linear potins in hoards by Allen class.¹²⁶

¹²⁵ Holman (2016).

¹²⁶ Only hoards with class data included.

| Hoard (Kent, London, Surrey or Essex) | A | B | C | C-D | D | D-F | E | F | G |
|---------------------------------------|---|---|---|-----|---|-----|---|---|---|
| Alkham (K) | | | | | | | | | |
| Barnes (classes uncertain) (L) | | | | | | | | | |
| Birchington (K) | | | | | | | | | |
| Boxley (K) | | | | | | | | | |
| Brent (L) | | | | | | | | | |
| Brentford I (L) | | | | | | | | | |
| Folkestone II (K) | | | | | | | | | |
| Gunnersbury (L) | | | | | | | | | |
| Hammersmith I (L) | | | | | | | | | |
| Hammersmith II (L) | | | | | | | | | |
| Kingston Upon Thames (L) | | | | | | | | | |
| Lenham Heath (K) | | | | | | | | | |
| New Addington (S) | | | | | | | | | |
| North Foreland (K) | | | | | | | | | |
| St James' Park (L) | | | | | | | | | |
| Sunbury-on-Thames (L) | | | | | | | | | |
| Takeley (E) | | | | | | | | | |
| Thurnham (K) | | | | | | | | | |
| Wandsworth (L) | | | | | | | | | |

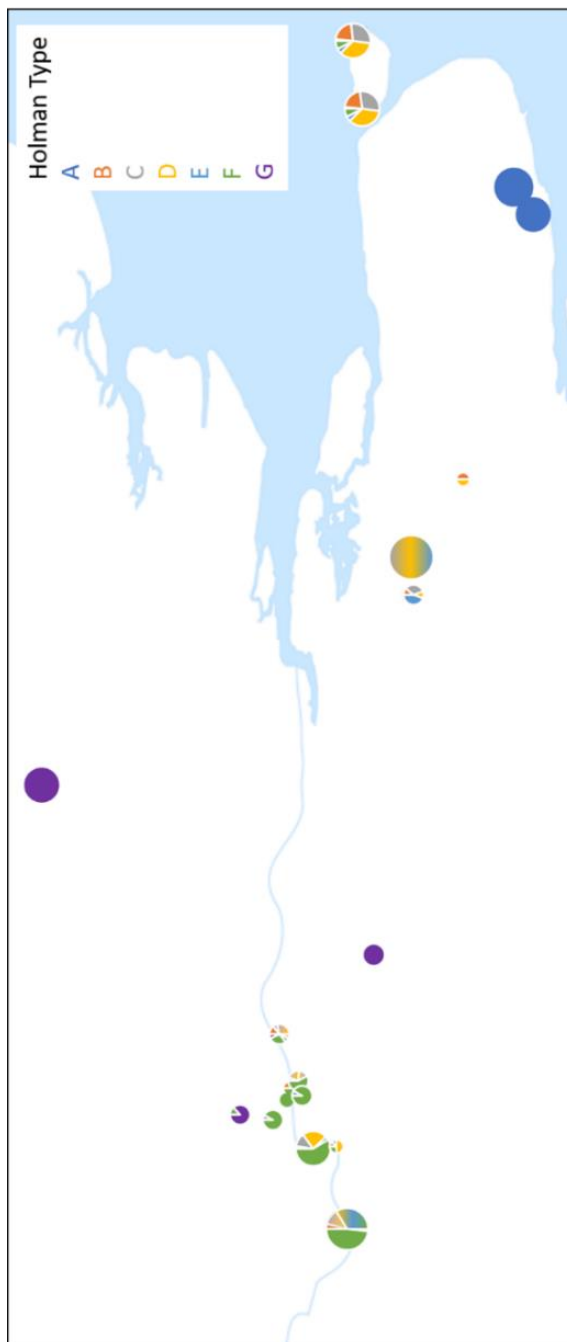
Table 5.3: Flat linear potins in hoards by Holman class

Potin hoards in close proximity to one another shared similarities in their composition. There were two main areas where this occurred: the London area and the Margate area. Most of the London hoards terminated in Allen class L or Holman class F and potins of the class L type often made up a significant part of the hoard (Maps 5.13-14).¹²⁷ The easternmost potin hoards, around the modern town of Margate, had similar high proportions of Holman B, C and D classes of potins, which were less common in the London hoards (Map 5.13).¹²⁸ These two concentrations of potin hoards reflect different potin using zones, and each zone deposited their potins at different times or had access to different classes of potins. Each zone was drawing on its own potin circulation pool, which differed from other zones. The area around Folkestone in south-east Kent may also have been another such zone, but the potins hoarded were of the earlier examples (Holman class A), either reflecting a lack of access to later coins or that deposition here occurred earlier.

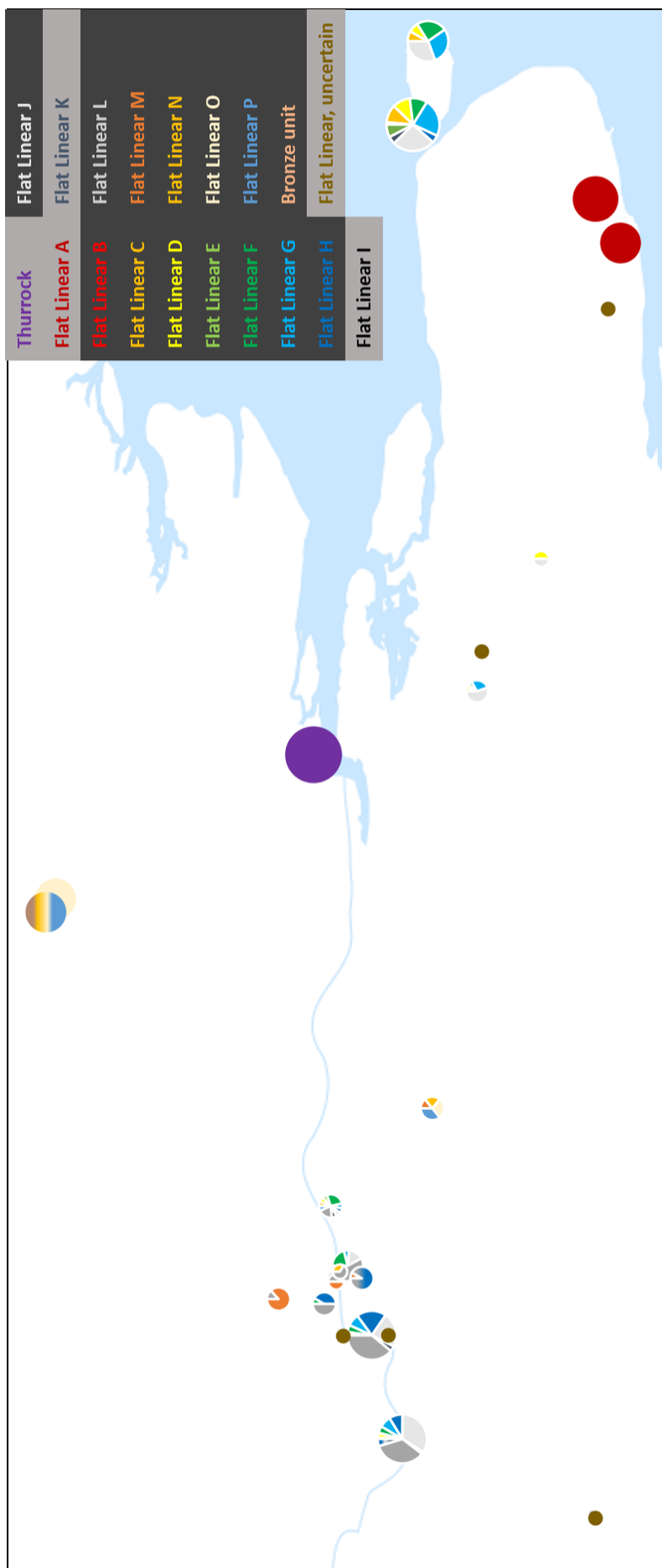
¹²⁷ Barnes, Brent, Brentford I, Gunnersbury, Hammersmith I & II, St James' Park, Sunbury on Thames, Wandsworth.

¹²⁸ Birchington, North Foreland.

In most hoards, the latest coins in the hoard tend to be low in number, on account of them only just entering circulation at the point when the hoard was buried, hence their availability was more limited. This is not the case here, particularly for the London hoards, where the terminating issue (Allen type L or Holman type F in most cases) often formed a large part of the hoard. This would suggest that these potins had already been in circulation for some time, but their use had suddenly ended within the area, hence they were hoarded in large numbers and later issues did not appear. This suggests that perhaps there was a sudden cessation in potin use in these regions. A crash in value seems to have occurred as Farley suggests, but I will demonstrate that it was not in response to Gallo-Belgic coins.



Map 5.13: Distribution of potin hoards by Holman class in the British Kingdoms. Created by author using Antiquity À-la-Carte.



Map 5.14: Distribution of potin hoards by Allen class in the British Kingdoms. Created by author using Antiquity À-la-Carte.

5.6.2: Potin Hoards – A 60-20 BC Phenomenon?

I wish to make the case that despite the *terminus post quem* allocating the potin hoards of the British Kingdoms to this period, the potin hoards may in fact date slightly later, and have been a phenomenon of 60-20 BC. There is no objective measure that can date the hoards this way, but a comparison with potin hoarding in Belgic Gaul reveals a potentially simultaneous change in how potins were used, and that this change occurred after the Gallic Wars. The trigger for this change is the introduction of struck silver and bronze Iron Age coinage, which developed as a result of the Roman invasion. I will demonstrate that these coins began to replace the role of potins, driving potins from circulation, but this process occurred over a shorter period of time in the British Kingdoms.

While potins only appeared in three hoards in Belgic Gaul dating to 200-61 BC, two of which were less than ten coins, from 60 BC to 20 potins appeared in 14 hoards in Belgic Gaul, 11 of which consisted of other denominations (though again rarely staters).¹²⁹ In the British Kingdoms, the Lyminge hoard is the only potin hoard that contained coins produced after 60 BC, and the other coins present within were *denarii* rather than local coins. This difference might explain why potins were hoarded in such unusual circumstances in the British Kingdoms. In Belgic Gaul, potins after the Gallic Wars were hoarded alongside the new struck bronze units, as well as Gallic *quinarii*.¹³⁰ Struck silver and bronze were also produced in the British Kingdoms after the Gallic Wars, yet they were never hoarded alongside potins (with a single exception, the Hammersmith II hoard, which contained only two coins, and the bronze unit was of Gallic origin, so it is not representative of a link between British coins).¹³¹ Indeed, hoards that contained silver and bronze coins were rare in the British Kingdoms after 60 BC.

The evidence available indicates that potins in Belgic Gaul continued in use alongside coins produced after the Gallic Wars, implying that they had the same role, which I would

¹²⁹ Potins only: Blicquy, Fraire I, Pommeroeul. Potins and other Iron Age Gallic coins: Brionne, Labuissière II, Châlons-sur-Marne, Chilly, Molliens-Dreuil, Peissant, Pernois, Reims, Saint-André-sur-Cailly, Saint-Beauve-en-Rivière, Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives.

¹³⁰ Brionne, Molliens-Dreuil, Pernois, Saint-André-sur-Cailly, Sainte-Beuve-en-Rivière, Verneuil-sur-Avre.

¹³¹ Hammersmith II.

suggest would be one of relatively low value (as opposed to the use of gold) monetary exchanges, based on their extensive presence on sites.¹³² The struck silver and bronze of the British Kingdoms may likewise have had the same role as the potins, similar to Belgic Gaul, but rather than the struck silver and bronze accompanying the potins, they seemingly replaced them, driving the latter from circulation.¹³³ This suggests that after the Gallic Wars, Belgic Gaul was unable to produce enough coins, hence older coins had to be utilised (Fig 5.5). The need for more coins may relate either to the loss of authority and power of Gallic tribes, which would have caused difficulties in maintaining local coin production levels, or the region was becoming increasingly monetised. Regardless, it is clear that in the initial period after the Gallic Wars Roman coinage was not available to maintain supply (5.7.3).

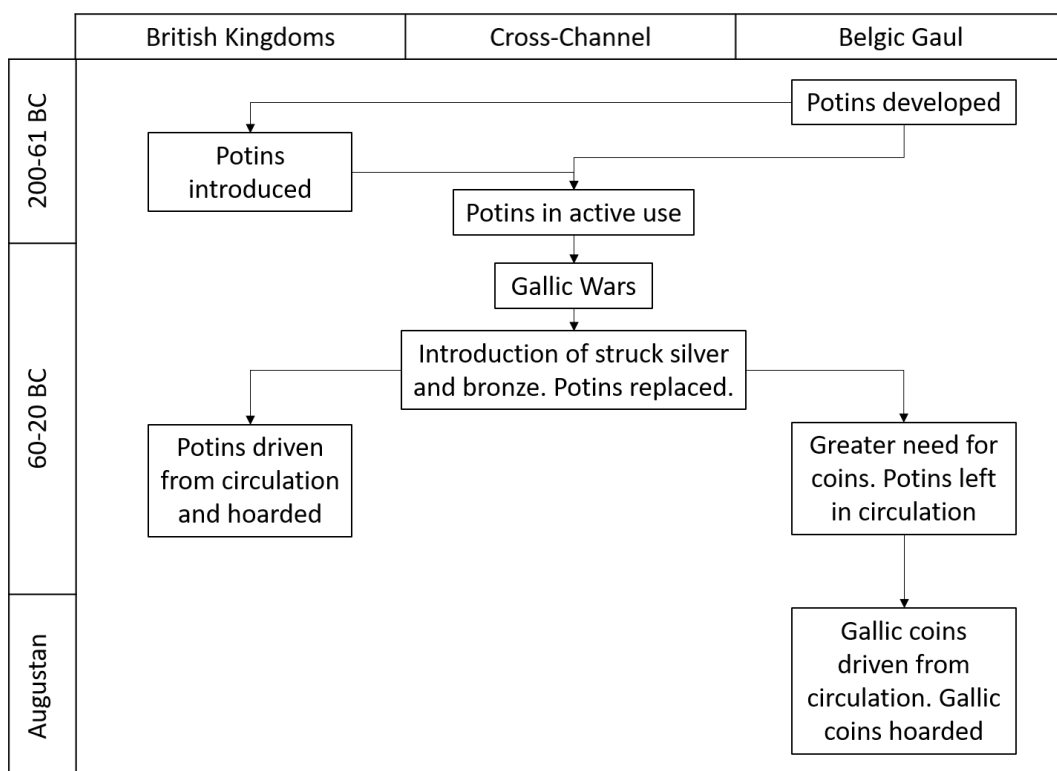


Fig 5.5: The development of potin hoards on both sides of the Channel.

The British Kingdoms potin hoards are related to their decommissioning, as struck silver and bronze replaced the earlier cast coins. There were some attempts in the British Kingdoms to halve and quarter potins to bring their weight into line with the bronze units, but ultimately it did not stop the coins falling out of use.¹³⁴ The higher weight potins were

¹³² Haselgrove (1979) 205.

¹³³ Haselgrove (1995) 124-125; Holman (2005c) 35; (2016) 10.

¹³⁴ Haselgrove (1995) 125.

no longer deemed fit to serve their previous role, and it was too time consuming to reduce the weight of all the potins when new coins could be struck to replace them. Potins, no longer suitable for their prior role, had no other role left for them, leaving storage as perhaps their primary function. They could have been hoarded as a potential supply of scrap metal should the need arise. In this sense, it is probable that the potin hoards in the British Kingdoms were in fact deposited after the Gallic Wars, during the introduction of struck silver and bronze, but they are allocated to this period owing to the later coins having no presence among the hoards. This further demonstrates that dating Iron Age coins and hoards should not be used uncritically and that Iron Age coins could have a long period of circulation.

Potin hoarding in the British Kingdoms represents a phenomenon that was part of wider cross-Channel coinage developments in the form of the introduction of struck silver and bronze, but both regions reacted to this change in different ways. If one were to move the potin hoards of the British Kingdoms into 60-20 BC, the British Kingdoms would only have a few gold stater hoards dated to 200-61 BC. This aligns with the few hoards on the South-West British Coast in this period, implying this was a period across Britain where coin hoarding was limited. Furthermore, the small hoards of gold staters in the British Kingdoms is similar to that of Belgic Gaul in 200-61 BC, so if one were to place the potin hoards (despite their *terminus post quem*) in 60-20 BC, one would see a broad concordance of hoarding from 200-20 BC across the Channel. The appearance of potin hoards was seemingly triggered by the impact of the Gallic Wars and their aftermath, and it would not be the only change caused by the Roman presence.

5.7: Hoards of Coins Dating to 60-20 BC

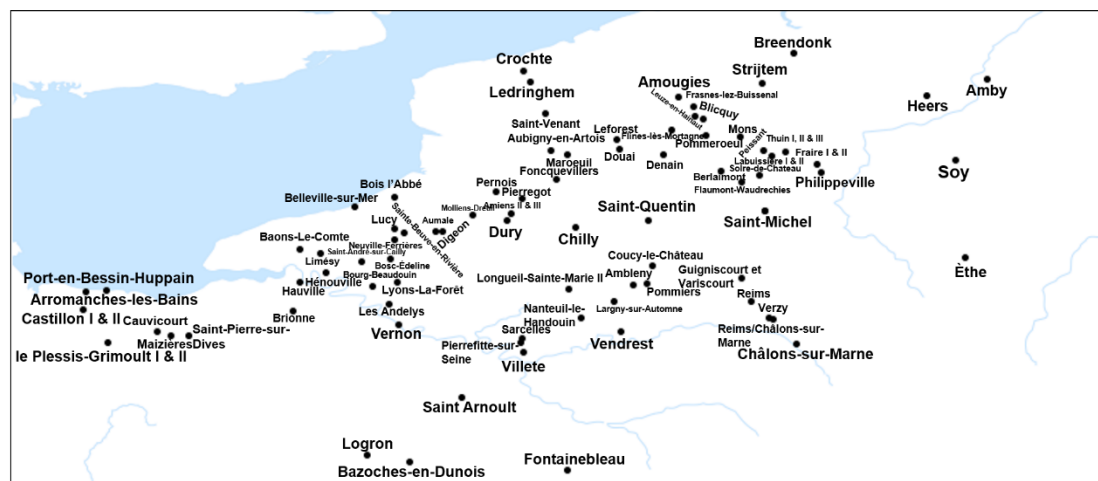
The hoards allocated to 60-20 BC underwent a dramatic change owing to the Gallic Wars and the tumultuous period that followed (Maps 5.15-17). Most notably, this involved the number of unrecovered hoards tripling from those of 200-61 BC. The rise in hoards occurred on both sides: in Belgic Gaul, the number of hoards rose from 25 to 90 and the British Kingdoms also had a notable increase, from 31 to 51.¹³⁵ The impact of the Gallic Wars had wide ranging implications not just for Gaul but also for Britain: we also saw this

¹³⁵ Perhaps even more if the potin hoards of the British Kingdoms were included.

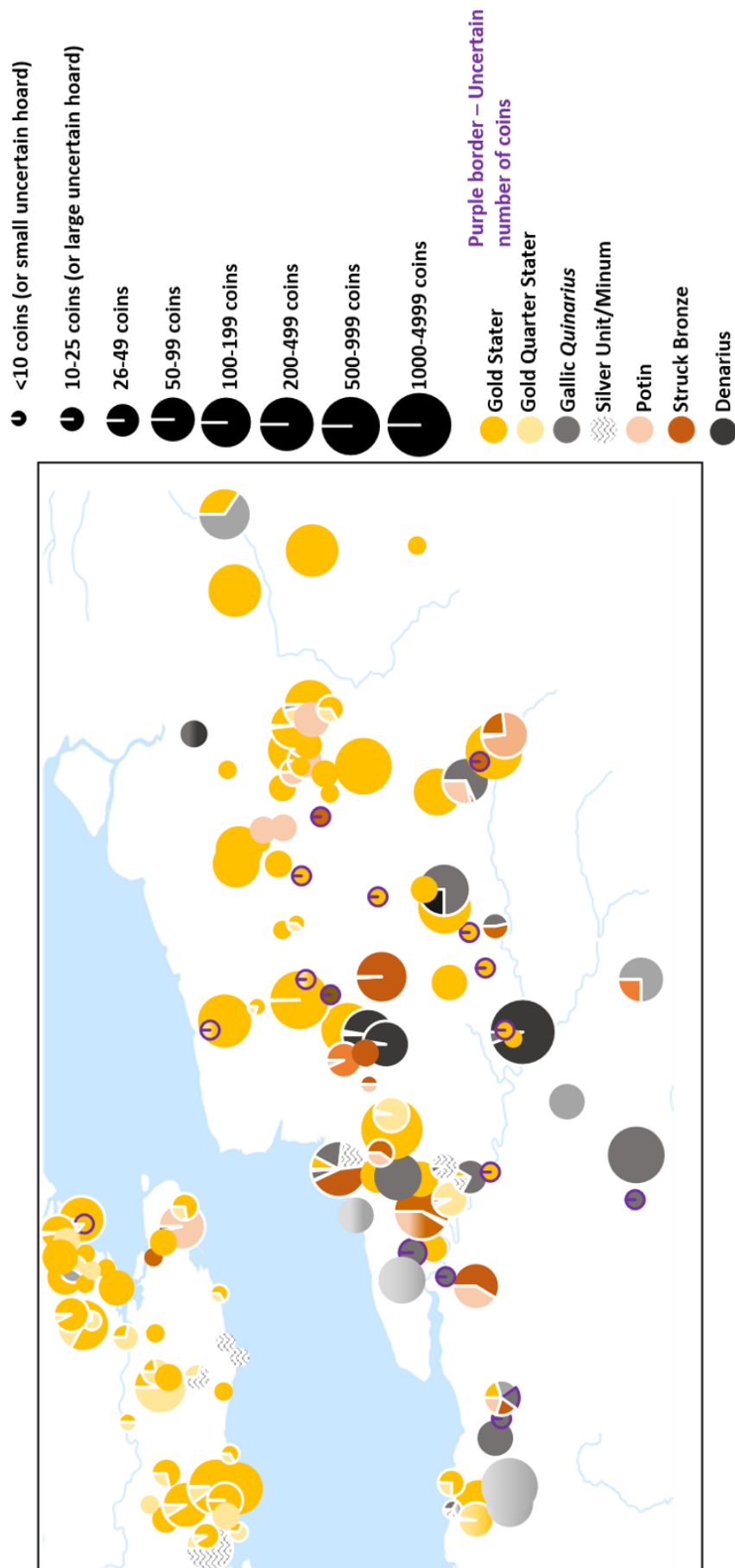
earlier in the Western Channel. Hoard composition changed dramatically, most notably their size, as several hoards contained hundreds of coins, an exceptionally rare phenomenon in the previous period. Furthermore, new denominations appeared, most notably the Gallic *quinarius*. Overall, the 60-20 BC period was one of dramatic change and demonstrated a transformation in the cross-Channel relationship as a result of Roman intervention.



Map 5.15: Hoards of the British Kingdoms allocated to 60-20 BC. Created by author using Antiquity À-la-carte.

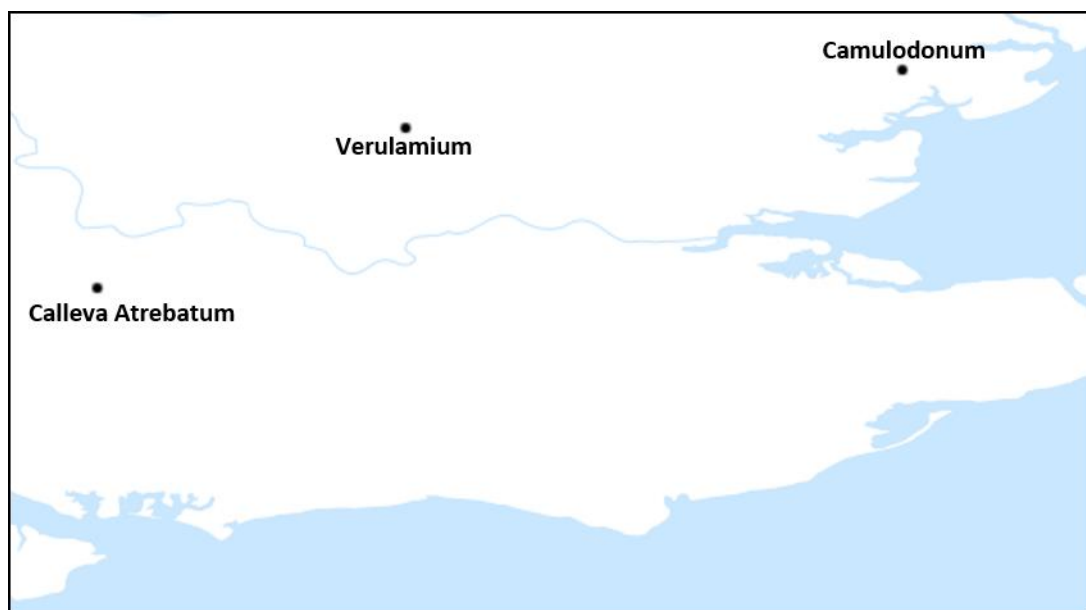


Map 5.16: Hoards in Belgic Gaul allocated to 60-20 BC. Created by author using Antiquity À-la-carte.



5.7.1: Notable Geographical Distributions

While the hoards were distributed widely, two clusters emerged in the British Kingdoms: a group north of the Thames centred around Camulodonum (modern day Colchester, Map 5.18) and a group south of the Thames in west Sussex and eastern Hampshire. These relate to the eastern and southern kingdoms, and it is in this period that the inscribed names of these kingdoms appeared. The presence of coin hoards around these areas reflects the access to coinage around these important locations. For instance, around Camulodonum in Essex, a notable number of hoards contained issues of the eastern kingdom ruler Addedomarus.¹³⁶ Most of these coins were of the ABC 2517 type, which was one of the largest coin types struck in the British Kingdoms.¹³⁷ Local accessibility thus had a significant impact on hoard formation in the British Kingdoms in this period, particularly for the staters. Though the exact route of Caesar's invasion remains in doubt, his army is suspected to have passed through Kent and potentially Essex, yet hoards appeared throughout the British Kingdoms.¹³⁸ Hoards were not just a direct result of Caesar's invasion but were a reaction to the widespread stress placed on the region as a whole.



Map 5.18: Major sites in the British Kingdoms. Created by author using Antiquity À-la-carte.

In contrast, the hoards in Kent, Surrey and Sussex were much smaller and more commonly included non-gold coins (Map 5.17). Coin production in this area was lower than in the aforementioned kingdoms, so the hoards reflect the region's peripherality on the edges of major coin production, with a variety of coins from nearby coin-producing communities

¹³⁶ Colchester (east of I), Little Bromley, Little Totham, Marks Tey I.

¹³⁷ Sills (2017) 748, 752.

¹³⁸ Frere (1967) 24; Grainge (2005) 86-87.

appearing in the hoards (Table 5.4). The hoards in Kent themselves were distributed along its outer region. This is not too dissimilar to other periods, which also show a general lack of hoards in central Kent (Map 5.16). This lack of hoards is not the result of modern factors in the archaeology: in reality, central Kent is well-represented in detectorist finds from other, non-Iron Age, periods.¹³⁹ It would therefore appear that the distribution of hoards was a historical reality.

| Hoard | Origin of coins | | | | |
|--------------------|-----------------|-----------------|------------------|-------------|-------|
| | Kent | Eastern Kingdom | Southern Kingdom | Belgic Gaul | Roman |
| Chartham | | | | ✓ | |
| East Dean | | | ✓ | | |
| Fairlight | ✓ | | | | |
| Faversham | | | | ✓ | |
| Folkestone I | | | | ✓ | |
| Lyminge | ✓ | | | | ✓ |
| Maresfield/Ashdown | ✓ | | ✓ | | |
| Near Sevenoaks | ✓ | | | | |
| Pevensey | | | ✓ | | |
| Ryarsh | | | | ✓ | |
| Southease | | | | ✓ | |
| Westerham I | | ✓ | | ✓ | |
| Westerham II | ✓ | | | | |

Table 5.4: Origin of coins in hoards from Kent and East Sussex allocated to 60-20 BC.

It has been suggested that coinage in Kent was dependent on gold from Belgic Gaul, and the disruption caused by the Gallic Wars weakened cross-Channel exchange, resulting in this area not being able to produce extensive coinages of their own.¹⁴⁰ However, gold hoards were rare in Kent before 60 BC (Map 5.5), and the low number of hoards in this period contrasts with the eastern and southern kingdoms, who were seemingly able to access gold for their coins. It is more likely that the limited hoards and their clustering on peripheries of Kent are reflective of settlement patterns. Kent was only sparsely occupied, and occupation was mostly concentrated in the north, where we see the majority of the hoards.¹⁴¹ Caesar named four kings as ruling Kent, whereas he identified that the Trinovantes and Catuvellauni tribes to the north of the Thames had their own, single king. This suggests that the Kent region was not as centralised, perhaps resulting in its unusual hoard distribution.¹⁴² Despite its proximity to Belgic Gaul, landing sites in Kent were few

¹³⁹ Portable Antiquities Scheme.

¹⁴⁰ Sills (2017) 719.

¹⁴¹ Champion (2007) 300-301, fig 3.

¹⁴² Caesar, *Gallic Wars*, 5.20, 5.22.

due to its high cliffs, which would have made maritime interaction difficult, and may have resulted in the area not being attractive to settlers.¹⁴³ Indeed, the few potential landing sites (Dover, Folkestone and Hythe) are in the south and the east; locations where hoards were present, implying that cross-Channel interactions had some relationship with the nearby hoards.¹⁴⁴ Iron Age coinage benefitted from increased levels of centralisation and cross-Channel links, and Kent was lacking in these features compared to other, nearby regions.

My study has revealed that hoards in Belgic Gaul also displayed a notable geographical distinction, particularly between hoards that contained gold coins and those that contained silver and bronze. The gold hoards were concentrated further north than in the previous period, with a cluster along the Belgium border and a looser scattering across Belgic Gaul (Map 5.15). The silver and bronze hoards in contrast were only found in the south. The only hoard allocated to this period without any gold coins beyond the gold concentration of the Belgium border was the Breendonk hoard, which contained 14 pre-Augustan Roman *denarii*.¹⁴⁵ A few small potin hoards were interspersed amongst the hoards of the Belgic border, but following the norm discussed above they were kept separate from the gold staters.¹⁴⁶

There seems to have been a divide between a northern Iron Age system of staters and potins that mirrors the hoarding patterns of the British Kingdoms, and a more Roman, alien system of *quinarii*, *denarii* and struck bronze in the south. Indeed, only four hoards allocated to this period contained both Gallic *quinarii* and gold staters.¹⁴⁷ This distinction was at least partially chronological: *quinarii* and Roman *denarii* hoards were primarily a post-invasion phenomenon, whereas the *terminus post quem* date of hoards to the north is presumed to be the Gallic Wars.¹⁴⁸ However, many of the inscribed *quinarii* issues may only have been produced shortly after the war, at a time when gold coinage could still have been available, so there was not such a vast chronological range to prevent their hoarding

¹⁴³ Wilkes (2004) 114.

¹⁴⁴ Wilkes (2004) 114.

¹⁴⁵ Breendonk.

¹⁴⁶ Blicquy, Fraire I, Pommeroeul.

¹⁴⁷ Les Andelys, Bois l'Abbé 11 & 15, Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives.

¹⁴⁸ Roymans & Scheers (2012a) 9.

together. The gold staters and quarter staters and the struck silver and bronze produced after the Gallic Wars belonged to two separate currency systems. Therefore, there was a major distinction in the function of these coins and perhaps their hoards, and the gold and the non-gold hoards will be considered separately as a result.

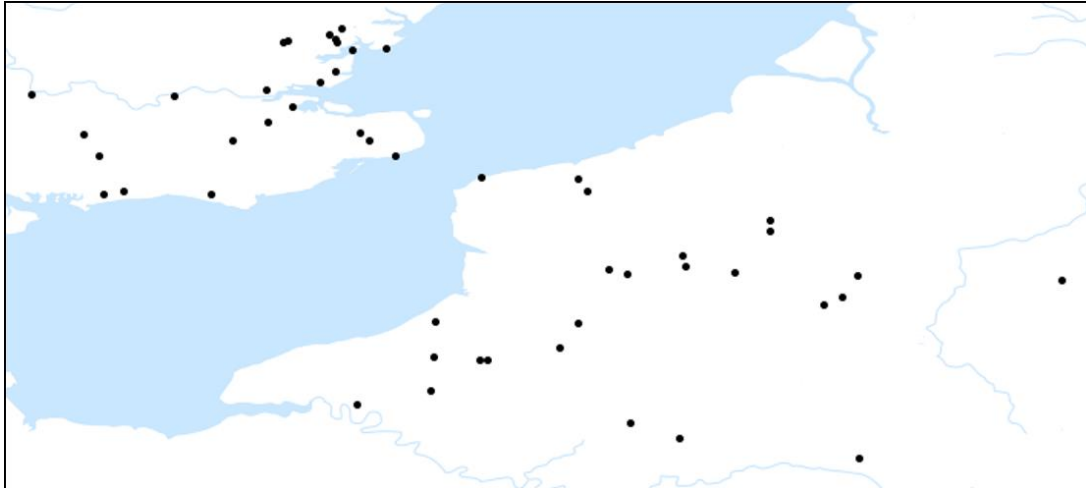
5.7.2: Gold Hoards

The Gallo-Belgic E series staters dominated many of the hoards of both regions. At least a single example appeared in 51 (27 from Belgic Gaul and 24 in the British Kingdoms) out of the 108 hoards that contained staters and/or quarter staters allocated to 60-20 BC in the Eastern Channel.¹⁴⁹ For an export, the presence of Gallo-Belgic E in British Kingdoms hoards seems unusually high, but the same pattern can be witnessed in single finds, so in both regions depositors were hoarding what was readily available.¹⁵⁰ Many of the coins arriving in Britain were unworn and the large number of hoards suggests that they were not circulating for long, so it seems that many of the staters were struck specifically for Britain, which may be related to assistance rendered during the Gallic Wars.¹⁵¹ Indeed, the Gallo-Belgic E stater seems specifically designed for inter-tribal use: a concept discussed in detail in chapter 6 (6.4.2).

¹⁴⁹ British Kingdoms: Arundel, Basildon, Birch, Burnham-on-Crouch, Chartham, Chiddingstone, Clacton I, Farnham (Surrey), Folkestone I, Great Dunmow/Great Waltham, Great Leighs, Haselmere, Layer Breton, Marks Tey I, Medway, Putney, Orsett, Ryarsh, Southease, Southend-on-Sea, Waltham, West Bergholt, Westergate, West Mersea. Belgic Gaul: Aubigny-en-Artois, Aumale, Bois l'Abbé (4, 10 & 11), Bosc-Édeline, Labuissière I, Crochte, Denain, Digeon, Douai, Dury, Flaumont-Waudrechies, Frasnes-lez-Buissenal, Hénouville, Largny-sur-Automne, Ledringhem, Leforest, Leuze-en-Hainaut, Longueil-Sainte-Marie II, Lucy, Maroeuil, Pierregot, Reims et Châlons-sur-Marne, Sangatte, Solre-de-Chateau, Soy.

¹⁵⁰ Sills (2017) 701, fig 158.

¹⁵¹ Sills (2017) 700, 706.



Map 5.19: Distribution of hoards with at least one Gallo-Belgic E coin present in the Eastern Channel allocated to 60-20 BC. Created by author using Antiquity À-la-carte.

| Number of Gallo-Belgic E coins in Hoard | Number of Hoards in the British Kingdoms | Number of Hoards in Belgic Gaul |
|---|--|---------------------------------|
| Uncertain | - | 3 |
| <10 | 16 | 15 |
| 10-25 | 3 | 2 |
| 26-49 | 4 | 2 |
| 50-99 | - | 2 |
| 100-199 | - | - |
| 200-499 | 1 | 1 |
| 500-999 | - | 2 |
| Total | 24 | 27 |

Table 5.5: Number of Gallo-Belgic E coins in hoards allocated to 60-20 BC.¹⁵²

Despite the similarity in the numbers of hoards that contained Gallo-Belgic E coins, hoards of over a hundred tended to be restricted to Belgic Gaul (Map 5.19, Table 5.5, Arundel is the only British Kingdoms exception).¹⁵³ Closer access to centres of production allowed more specimens to be available for hoarding. While the distribution of Gallo-Belgic E hoards in Belgic Gaul was widespread, the British Kingdoms hoards containing Gallo-Belgic E gold staters tended to be clustered near maritime routes, around the Thames, Thames Estuary and the southern British coast (Map 5.19). This is to be expected for imported coins, and the hoards' close proximity to these locations suggests that these coins were used for interactions with communities who had connections with Belgic Gaul. Whilst the biggest hoards appeared in Belgic Gaul, in most hoards throughout the Eastern Channel the

¹⁵² Uncertain: Crochte, Denain, Largy-sur-Automne; <10: Aubigny-en-Artois, Basildon, Birch, Bois l'Abbé 4, 10 & 11, Labuissière I, Burnham-on-Crouch, Digeon, Douai, Dury, Farnham (Surrey), Flaumont-Waudrechies, Folkestone I, Frasnès-lez-Buissenal, Great Dunmow/Great Waltham, Layer Breton, Leforest, Leuze-en-Hainaut, Longueil-Sainte-Marie II, Marks Tey I, Maroeuil, Medway, Orsett, Putney, Ryarsh, Sangatte, Southease, Waltham, West Bergholt, West Mersea; 10-25: Chartham, Chiddingstone, Hénouville, Solre-de-Chateau, Westergate; 26-49: Bosc-Édeline, Clacton I, Great Leighs, Haselmere, Lucy, Southend-on-Sea; 100-199: Ledrington, Soy; 200-499: Arundel, Reims et Châlons-sur-Marne; 500-999: Aumale, Pierregot.

¹⁵³ Arundel.

number of Gallo-Belgic E coins was small. The low numbers of hoarded examples are similar to the small hoards of 200-61 BC: large quantities of coins remained exceptional. Despite coin output increasing dramatically in response to Caesar's invasion, the number of coins available per individual hoard did not seem to increase, suggesting that the increased number of coins were more widely dispersed across large tracts of the population, with few major concentrations of wealth. The Gallic Wars thus caused Belgic Gaul to export coins in greater numbers to the British Kingdoms, which may have encouraged a more widespread acceptance of coinage. The Romans thus seem to have stimulated an increase of the use of coinage in Britain, though not directly.

5.7.3: Non-Gold Coins in Hoards

Gold hoarding shared similar patterns on both sides of the Channel, but the patterns of hoarding of non-gold coins differed significantly. Struck silver and bronze were hoarded extensively in Belgic Gaul but not in the British Kingdoms. The importance of hoarding gold staters was shared across the Channel, but the relationship between non-gold coins and their hoards differed. The reason for this distinction can be seen in the Roman invasion providing new importance for struck silver and bronze, and this would impact Belgic Gaul and the British Kingdoms in different ways. Once again, the Roman intervention had a major impact in the development of the cross-Channel relationship with coinage. I have remarked on this development previously regarding the potins, and in this section I go further into the circumstances of struck silver and bronze hoarding.

There is little to say regarding the hoards of non-gold coinage in the British Kingdoms. The proportion of hoards that contained silver and bronze units in the British Kingdoms in this period was minimal (seven out of 51 hoards).¹⁵⁴ The silver and bronze hoards of this period were not deposited for the same reason as the potin hoards, as it is probable that the potin hoards were the result of struck silver and bronze entering circulation. The non-gold hoards of the British Kingdoms were outliers: silver is present in only four hoards allocated to this period in the British Kingdoms. Three were clustered in Kent and Sussex.¹⁵⁵ The hoards were tiny, with the East Dean and Pevensey hoards each containing only two coins, which is hardly representative of a distinctive regional attitude towards hoarding non-gold coins.

¹⁵⁴ Arundel, East Dean, Faversham, Hambledon, Lyminge, Maresfield, Pevensey.

¹⁵⁵ East Dean, Maresfield, Pevensey.

The Hambledon hoard was the only major deposition of silver coins. The hoard contained 65 silver units and minims from the Solent and South Thames regions, in addition to 22 Solent quarter staters. The lack of staters of any kind, as well as the majority of coins coming from the Western Channel, is unusual compared to the majority of hoards from the British Kingdoms. The possible association of a spring to this hoard, while a tenuous connection, suggests that this hoard may be votive in nature. This may explain the preference towards utilising more unusual coins, as lower denomination and foreign coins are often found on sanctuary sites.¹⁵⁶ Likewise, the Faversham hoard may also have been a votive deposit, as it contained seven bronze units from Belgic Gaul. Aside from sanctuary sites, multiples of non-stater coins from Belgic Gaul are unknown in the British Kingdoms, suggesting that this hoard also shared votive associations.¹⁵⁷ Inhabitants may not have recognised the images on the coins, which may have made their use difficult in local exchange. As a result, they were used in the religious sphere instead. Naturally, this assumes the hoard was a reality: Allen reconstructed the hoard from coins of different collections and lots that were thought to have been found in the same area. The reliability of this method and final result has been questioned by de Jersey, as there is no direct evidence placing these coins together.¹⁵⁸ The total number of coins attributed to the Velocasses in Britain is limited, with only 27 examples found throughout Britain, including the ones supposedly associated with the hoard. If this was a hoard, it represents a major outlier.¹⁵⁹ It is the only hoard in the British Kingdoms in this period that contained struck bronze: clearly the denomination was not valued in coin hoards, further suggesting that most depositors aimed to hoard valuable coins.

The non-gold hoards in Belgic Gaul were more extensive than those in the British Kingdoms. Potins, struck bronze, Gallic *quinarii* and Roman *denarii* were all deposited in Belgic Gaul in hoards allocated to this period. The Belgic Gaul hoards that contained such coins were deposited predominantly in the south (Map 5.15), away from the concentration

¹⁵⁶ Allen (1964); Briggs, Haselgrove & King (1992); Holman (2005c).

¹⁵⁷ Briggs, Haselgrove & King (1992) 16-17; Holman (2011).

¹⁵⁸ Allen (1960) 277; de Jersey (2014) 237.

¹⁵⁹ de Jersey (2006) 119, table 1; Portable Antiquities Scheme CCI-95112; CCI-01346; CCI-01773; CCI-10989; CCI-20439; CCI-40324; CCI-42144; CCI-611659; CCI-611729; CCI-61173; CCI-611732; CCI-650157; CCI-650159; CCI-780108; CCI-90083; CCI-910339; CCI-910563; CCI-920218; CCI-940276; CCI-950265; CCI-953411; CCI-961694; CCI-961695; CCI-990688.

of gold hoarding. Within this southern zone, a further division existed: Gallic *quinarii*, *denarii* and bronze coins tended to be hoarded separately.

Gallic silver coins on the *quinarius* standard (Fig 5.6) were introduced across Gaul from the end of the 2nd century BC.¹⁶⁰ They were particularly widespread in central and eastern Gaul in the 2nd to 1st centuries BC, and were seemingly preferred over the production of staters due to the influence of the expanding power of Rome and its silver-based coinage.¹⁶¹ These early *quinarii* appeared on many sites and may have served as an early form of monetisation.¹⁶² Prior to the Gallic Wars, *quinarii* were not adopted in northern Gaul, but appeared in extensive numbers throughout Belgic Gaul in the wars' aftermath.¹⁶³ The distribution of each *quinarius* type can be particularly widespread, and the mint location for many cannot be confirmed; most examples may not even have been produced in Belgic Gaul and could have been produced further south in eastern Gaul.¹⁶⁴ Nevertheless, they appeared in extensive numbers in the region, and the increase in hoards of silver coins marks a dramatic change from the previous period.



Fig 5.6: ATEVLA/VLATOS, *quinarius*, DT 640, c. 60-20? BC, 1.46g, diameter and die axis not recorded. Obv. ATEVLA, winged bust, l. Rev. VLATOS, horse, r., curly S above, four petalled flower below. Courtesy of the Portable Antiquities Scheme, CCI-910416.

Absolute dating remains a concern, but it is thought that most *quinarii* types were produced in the immediate aftermath of the Gallic Wars, based on the large number of finds in Roman forts and sites post-dating the Gallic Wars.¹⁶⁵ Due to stylistic similarities, inscribed issues such as SENONDEN/CALEDV, ANNAROVECI and ATEVLA/VLATOS may have been produced at the same mint, so a large number of these coins seem to have been produced from a centralised source, accounting for their concentrated presence in hoards

¹⁶⁰ Colbert de Beaulieu (1966b) 124; Delestrée, Boisard & Boulenger (2006) 23; Martin (2015) 68.

¹⁶¹ Nash (1978) 116, 201.

¹⁶² Nick (2015) 221.

¹⁶³ Scheers (1977) 111; Haselgrove (2005) 132, table 1.

¹⁶⁴ Haselgrove (2005) 165.

¹⁶⁵ Scheers (1977) 111; Haselgrove (2005) 165.

in the south of Belgic Gaul but not the north.¹⁶⁶ Whom these names refer to is unclear, but it is commonly suggested that the legends refer to Gallic chieftains or the names of local moneyers, as on Roman Republican coins.¹⁶⁷ These remain logical suggestions, but it must be acknowledged that unlike the inscribed names of the British Kingdoms, there are no textual references mentioning these names and they may refer to anything from an official to a supernatural entity.¹⁶⁸ Their production seems to cease by about 20 BC, but inscribed struck bronze continued into the Augustan period.¹⁶⁹

The appearance of Gallic silver, Gallic bronze and Roman *denarii* hoards in the south of Belgic Gaul but not in the north aligns with the distribution of *oppida* in Belgic Gaul (Map 5.20. Compare with Map 5.15). This further demonstrates that centralised mints and settlement sites were important factors in the spread of these coins, confirmed by a recent study that regions with major and long-lasting *oppida* tend to have more Iron Age coins.¹⁷⁰ The borders of the Roman empire extended to locations which had indigenous coinage but rarely beyond, the implication being that coinage represented areas of a certain level of centralisation, which allowed the Roman state to subdue and maintain an administration in these areas.¹⁷¹ A development of this idea is that the Roman monetary system only extended to areas that could use a *certain* form of coinage. *Oppida* seem to be related to the creation and distribution of non-stater silver and bronze, thus their presence allowed the use of the non-stater denomination of the Roman empire, perhaps because these sites served as locations where goods could be exchanged with coin. In northern Belgic Gaul, without these sites, such coins had more limited use. Therefore, the distribution of non-stater hoards in Belgic Gaul is strongly tied to settlement patterns and, by extension, the ways certain groups in Belgic Gaul used coinage.

¹⁶⁶ Haselgrove (1999) 157.

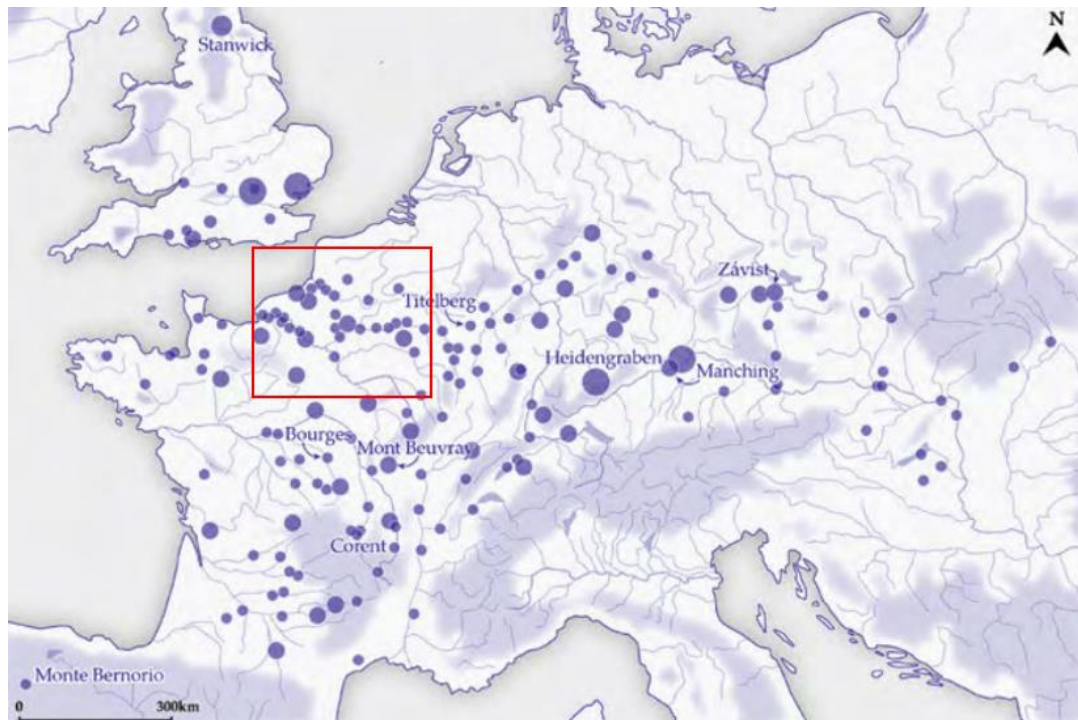
¹⁶⁷ Elites: Delestrée, Boisard & Boulenger (2006) 23; Nick (2006) 258; Roymans & Aarts (2009) 20; Martin (2015) 128. Moneyers: Scheers (1977) 184; Aarts & Roymans (2009) 8.

¹⁶⁸ Aarts & Roymans (2009) 8.

¹⁶⁹ Haselgrove (1999) 149; Aarts & Roymans (2009) 1.

¹⁷⁰ Martin, François & Lorho (2016) 40.

¹⁷¹ Howgego (2013) 21.



Map 5.20: Distribution of oppida in Europe from the 2nd to 1st centuries BC (Fernández-Götz (2018) 24, fig. 1).

It has been suggested that Gallic *quinarii* were designed to integrate with the Roman system, but mixtures of Gallic *quinarii* and Roman *denarii* in hoards were rare.¹⁷² Other communities in Gaul and Iberia based their own coinage on that produced by Mediterranean powers: for example *monnaies á la croix* took inspiration from Rhode's coins and the indigenous Iberians produced coinage which was based on Roman *denarii* standard.¹⁷³ However, these examples represent first experiments with coinage in the respective regions, whereas Belgic Gaul by this period had a long coinage tradition that was at odds with this new style.

A comparison with Iberian coinage may provide some insight. Throughout the 2nd century BC through to the beginning of the 1st century BC, struck silver coinage on the Roman *denarius* standard were produced by native Iberians.¹⁷⁴ These are thought to have been utilised to incorporate indigenous Iberian coin production into the Roman system, for financial uses, paying for mercenaries and for use as gifts.¹⁷⁵ However, the most prominent use of these coins seems related to the Roman military. It is possible that many Iberian

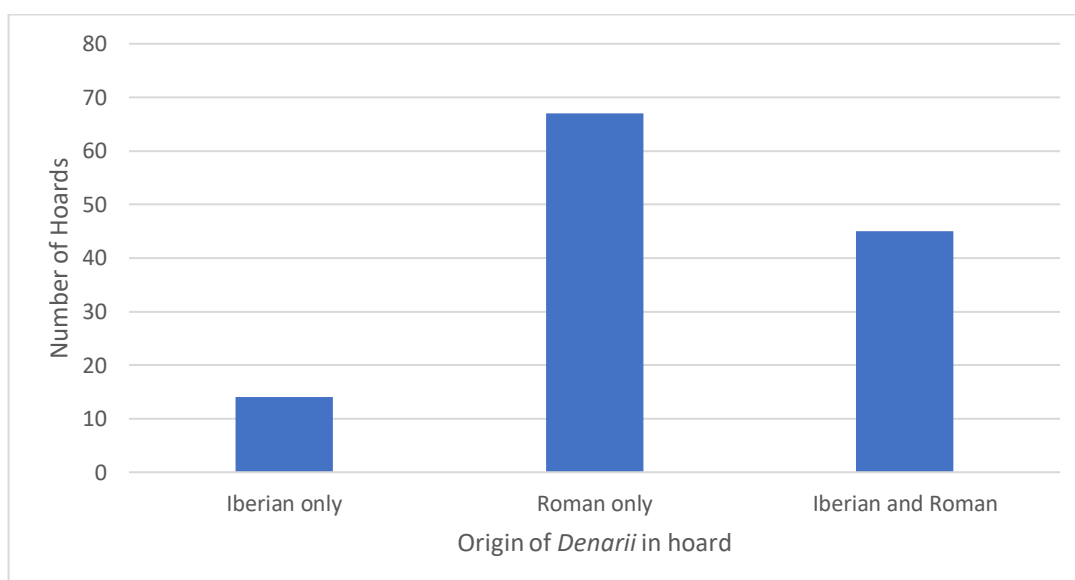
¹⁷² Martin (2015) 159.

¹⁷³ Boudet (1997) 14; Ripollès (2012) 364.

¹⁷⁴ Richard & Villaronga (1973) 95-97.

¹⁷⁵ Chaves Tristán (1996) 514-515, 517.

coins were used to pay Roman soldiers in the Sertorian war of 80-72 BC, after which they remained in circulation in military camps up to the Augustan period.¹⁷⁶ A similar relationship with the Roman military has been suggested for the introduction of *quinarii* coins in Belgic Gaul.¹⁷⁷ However, Iberian coins were more commonly hoarded alongside Roman *denarii* (Graph 5.2), whereas Gallic *quinarii* were rarely hoarded alongside Roman coins (Graph 5.3). The comparison is not quite equivalent; the Iberians used *denarii*, which were more commonplace and regularly used in the Roman world than the rarer *quinarius*. Nevertheless, whilst the Gallic *quinarii* in terms of their denomination and romanised iconography (often bearing an obverse image derived from classical imagery and a more realistic, Mediterranean style horse) appeared to have been part of the Roman monetary system, they did not seem to have been used alongside Roman coins.

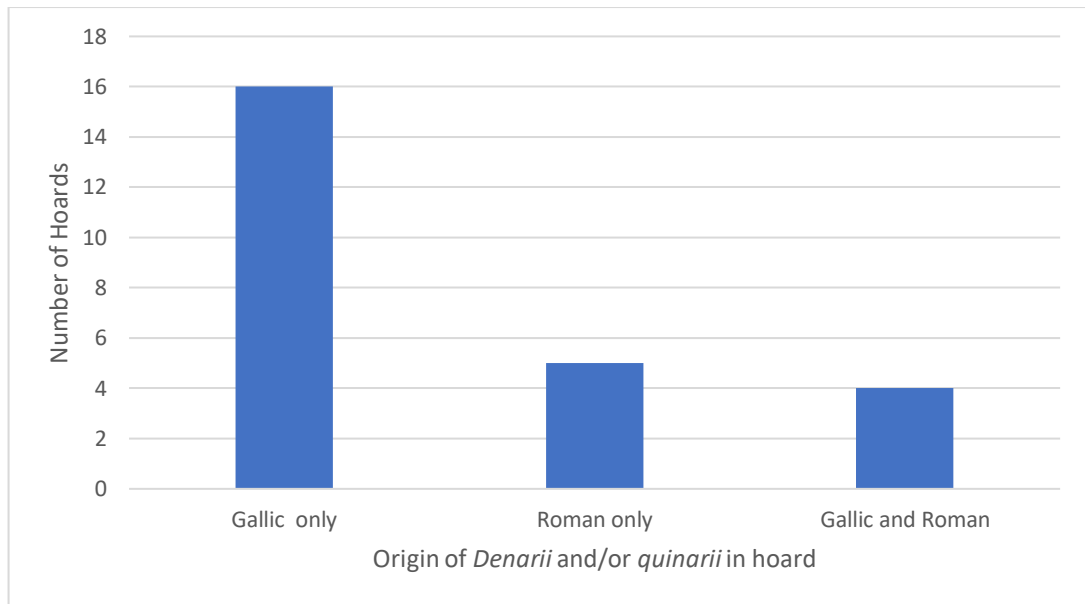


Graph 5.2: *Denarii* hoards by origin in Iberia, 150-27 BC.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁶ Villaronga (1993) 84; Garcia-Bellido (2008) 284; Ripollès (2012) 362.

¹⁷⁷ Delestrée, Boisard & Boulenger (2006) 23; Martin (2015) 159.

¹⁷⁸ Based upon Crawford (1969); Blázquez (1988); Villaronga (1993); Coin Hoards of the Roman Empire Project.



Graph 5.3: Quinarii and denarii hoards by origin allocated to 60-20 BC in Belgic Gaul.¹⁷⁹

It is possible that the Gallic *quinarii* were not hoarded together with Roman *denarii* owing to the higher weight and thus value of Roman *denarii*, and the hoarders' desire to maintain uniformity. However, the Villette hoard in Belgic Gaul contained Roman *denarii* and Roman *quinarii*, but no Gallic *quinarii*, so the denomination does not seem to have been the problem. A more plausible theory explaining the separation is that the Gallic *quinarii* and Roman *denarii* belonged to two separate chronological periods. Site finds show that Gallic coins and Roman coins could be found in the same location, but they are not comparable in terms of their numbers. In the vicinity outside the fortified camp of Chaussée-Tirancourt (Somme) there were 355 Gallic coins, but only three Roman coins.¹⁸⁰ Within the camp only ten of the 336 coins were Roman.¹⁸¹ This situation is witnessed on other fortified sites within Belgic Gaul: Roman types formed only 13% of the total composition of Folleville, ten of the 1024 coins finds at Liercourt-Érondelle and 84 of the 355 coins at Reims.¹⁸² A larger number of Roman coins were present on some sites, such as Liberchies (395 Romans coins out of 748 coins), but many sites tended to be dominated by Gallic issues.¹⁸³ On the sites

¹⁷⁹ Gallic *quinarii*: Les Andelys, Bazoches-en-Dunois, Bois l'Abbé 11, 12 & 15, Cauvicourt, Châlons-sur-Marne, Hauville, Limésy, Logron, Lyons-la-Forêt, Maizières, Port-en-Bessin-Huppain, Reims, Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives, Vendrest; Roman *denarii* & Roman *quinarii*: Bois l'Abbé 16, Dury, Neuville-Ferrières, Saint-André-sur-Cailly, Villette. Gallic & Roman *denarii* & *quinarii*: Amiens III, Bois l'Abbé 13 & 14, Pommiers.

¹⁸⁰ Delestrée, Boisard & Boulenger (2006) 17, 19-20; Van Heesch (2008) 32. Delestrée et al. lists the GERMANVS INDVTILLI L (Sch 216) as a Roman coin, but as it is produced under a local authority, I do not consider the coin a true Roman issue.

¹⁸¹ Delestrée, Boisard & Boulenger (2006) 21.

¹⁸² Delestrée, Boisard & Boulenger (2006) 20; Van Heesch (2008) 33; Delestrée & Boisard (2010) 29, 32-33.

¹⁸³ Van Heesch (2008) 33.

where Gallic issues dominated, the coins terminated in issues of Augustus, which has led to the conclusion that occupation on these sites ended in his reign.¹⁸⁴ If this is the case, it would seem that prior to the Augustan period Roman coins were uncommon, and it was not until the 1st century AD that Roman coins appeared in greater quantity. This would coincide with the point where Gallic coins disappeared from sites, suggesting at this point Roman coins were fulfilling the need for coins and Gallic coins were no longer required to supplement them.¹⁸⁵

It therefore seems that Gallic *quinarii* and Roman *denarii* were not hoarded together because *denarii* were rare in the 1st century BC. The cause of this development relates to the users of the *quinarii* coins. The most prevailing view is that these coins were utilised by Gallic auxiliaries, deployed in the place of Roman soldiers to keep the peace.¹⁸⁶ There are several reasons for suspecting this:

- *Quinarii*, rather than *denarii*, were common in military camps of the pre-Augustan period.¹⁸⁷ For some types, most notably Scheers 56 and 57, military sites make up a high proportion of their findspots (Table 5.6).

| Coin type | Number of sites | Wet site | Religious site | Rural site | Oppidum | Nucleated settlement | Cemetery | LR/HMA cemetery | Public town | Roman military | Production site |
|---------------|-----------------|----------|----------------|------------|---------|----------------------|----------|-----------------|-------------|----------------|-----------------|
| Scheers 41 | 51 | 5.9 | 37.3 | 3.9 | 27.5 | 11.8 | 5.9 | 2.0 | 5.9 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Scheers 42-43 | 15 | 6.7 | 33.3 | 0.0 | 46.7 | 0.0 | 6.7 | 0.0 | 6.7 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Scheers 51-53 | 19 | 0.0 | 57.9 | 5.3 | 26.3 | 5.3 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 5.3 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Scheers 54 | 24 | 0.0 | 37.5 | 0.0 | 25.0 | 20.8 | 0.0 | 4.2 | 8.3 | 4.2 | 0.0 |
| Scheers 55 | 47 | 4.3 | 38.3 | 10.6 | 17.0 | 21.3 | 2.1 | 0.0 | 2.1 | 4.3 | 0.0 |
| Scheers 56 | 14 | 7.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 35.7 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 7.1 | 14.3 | 28.6 | 7.1 |
| Scheers 57 | 18 | 0.0 | 27.8 | 5.6 | 11.1 | 0.0 | 11.1 | 0.0 | 5.6 | 33.3 | 5.6 |

Table 5.6: Presence on archaeological sites of Belgic Gaul silver types of 60-20 BC (Haselgrove (2005) 161, table 9).

¹⁸⁴ Delestrée, Boisard & Boulenger (2006) 20; Delestrée & Boisard (2010) 29, 32-33.

¹⁸⁵ Martin (2015) 327.

¹⁸⁶ Haselgrove (2005) 165; Delestrée, Boisard & Boulenger (2006) 24; Gruel & Popovitch (2007) 81; Van Heesch (2008) 32; Doyen (2011) 271.

¹⁸⁷ Delestrée, Boisard & Boulenger (2006); Delestrée & Boisard (2010).

- If the coins were designed to pay Roman soldiers, or if this was an attempt to establish a Gallic coinage that could be incorporated into the Roman system, *quinarii* were an unusual choice. While *quinarii* were struck regularly by Roman mints, they were never produced in great numbers.¹⁸⁸ Gallic *quinarii* were, however, produced in central and eastern Gaul. Auxiliaries recruited from these locations would have used *quinarii* in their homeland and would be receptive to being paid in these issues.
- Die studies of provincial coins in Asia Minor show an increase in production during periods of military action.¹⁸⁹ The intensification of silver coinage in Belgic Gaul may also be linked to such a purpose. A large number of names appeared on the variety of silver issues produced in Eastern Gaul, which indicates striking occurred across a number of different areas and/or occurred at a few locations under successive moneyers. This suggests that there was a significant need for coins that in most cases in the Roman world related to the military.

The choice of a *quinarius* standard was related to the soldiers present on the frontier at the time. In the 1st century BC, these soldiers were Gallic auxiliaries, hence a denomination they were accustomed to was produced and utilised, but once Roman soldiers replaced them, they brought *denarii* into the region and the Gallic *quinarii* faded out of use. The production of *quinarii* seems to have occurred at Roman instigation, as a means for paying for their allied Gallic soldiers, in a similar manner to *denarii* production in Spain, though the latter is suspected to have been used to pay Roman soldiers, who were familiar with that denomination.¹⁹⁰

This may not be the complete picture, as the most common Gallic *quinarii* types, ATEVLA/VLATOS (Scheers 41) and SENODON/CALEDV (Scheers 42-43), do not appear on military sites at all (Table 5.6), but appeared in *oppida*, although this does not preclude their military usage. Roman military equipment appeared on *oppida* sites, such as those of Nasium, Châtelet à Gourzon, Titelberg and Sainte-Geneviève à Essey-lès-Nancy, suggesting that the deployment of troops in these locations extended beyond the Gallic Wars.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁸ Wolter (2012) 336

¹⁸⁹ de Callataÿ (2011) 71-76.

¹⁹⁰ Villaronga & Benages (2011) 217.

¹⁹¹ Caesar, *Gallic Wars*, 7.90; Dechezleprêtre (2008); Reddé (2009) 175; Martin (2013) 341.

Inscribed Gallic coinage often appeared at these sites.¹⁹² This further explains why the hoards were found in the part of Belgic Gaul where *oppida* are present; a number of these *oppidae* could have served as temporary military bases, and the soldiers would have brought their coinage with them. Gallic *quinarii* may have been intended for the auxiliaries, but it is probable that they were exchanged with the locals, and thus entered local circulation, further accounting for their appearance at *oppida*. It is probable that the depositors of *quinarii* were Gallic auxiliaries, while the separate deposits of *denarii* were made by later Roman soldiers.

There appears to have been no issue in hoarding Gallic *quinarii* of different origins together (Map 5.21), suggesting that they circulated together.¹⁹³ Mapping the appearances of certain names on coins in hoards leads to little distinction in their distribution, aside from three hoards in close proximity in the west that contained *quinarii* of ATEVLA/VLATOS and Q DOCI SAM F, which suggests that these hoards were deposited at the same time, drawing from the same circulation pool.¹⁹⁴ Aside from this peculiar regional pattern, the relationship a *quinarius* had to a specific area seems to have mattered little to depositors. The hoards may have been responses to military threats, perhaps related to an uprising by the Morini tribe in 30 BC.¹⁹⁵ Additionally, particularly in the case of the larger hoards, these coins were deposited *en masse* shortly before they lost their function.¹⁹⁶ They may have been deposited together at the time of their decommissioning, and, despite the *terminus post quem*, perhaps the hoards should date to during the reign of Augustus, the period when they seem to have fallen out of use. This decommissioning of a non-stater style of coin is witnessed in the British Kingdoms with the potins, so it is possible that the same phenomenon is occurring here.

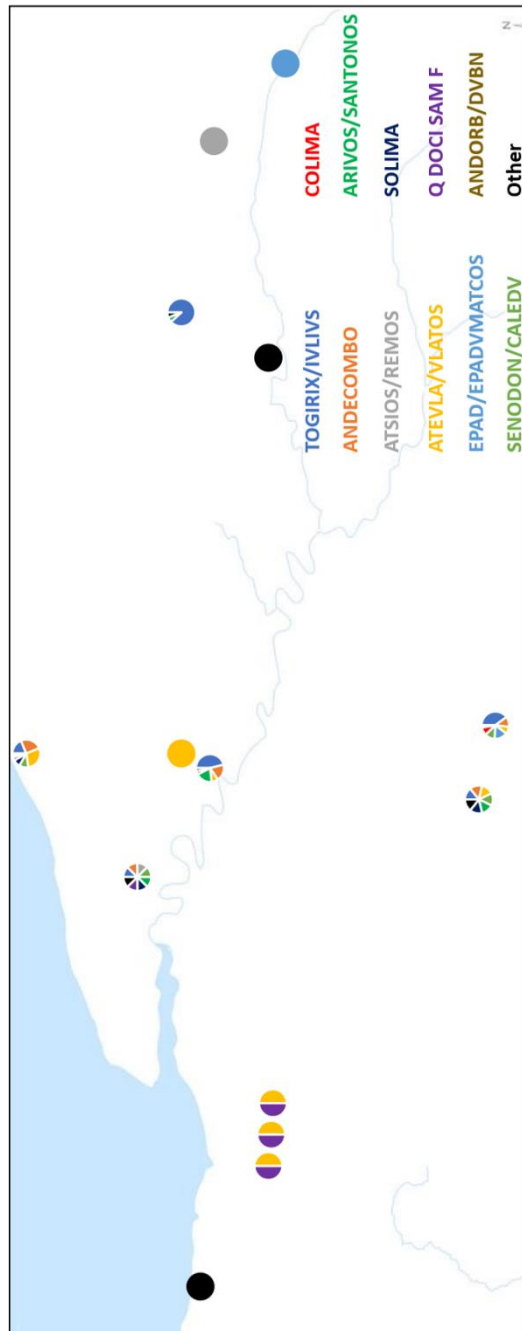
¹⁹² Haselgrove (2006) 101; Dechezleprêtre (2008). Confirmed examples were found at Nasium, Châtelet à Gourzon and Titelberg.

¹⁹³ Delestrée (1984a) 238.

¹⁹⁴ Cauvicourt, Maizières, Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives.

¹⁹⁵ Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, 51.21.

¹⁹⁶ Bazoches-en-Dunois, Châlons-sur-Marne.



Map 5.21: Distribution of quinarii hoards allocated to 60-20 BC by coin legend. Created by author using Antiquity À-la-carte. Graphs not to scale of the size of hoards.

While the newly created struck bronze of the British Kingdoms does not seem to have been hoarded in this period, Gallic struck bronze appeared in multiple hoards. Unlike the Gallic *quinarii*, the majority of hoarded struck bronze coins seem to have been produced in Belgic Gaul. They appear as part of series of gold, silver and bronze coins, often inscribed with the same name, such as CRICIRV.¹⁹⁷ This is a similar structure to the British Kingdoms coinage after the Gallic Wars, and may have been the original inspiration for this system of coins.

¹⁹⁷ Scheers (1977) 70, 73.



Fig 5.7: Ambiani, bronze unit, DT 464, c. 60-20 BC, 2g, 14mm, die axis not recorded. Obv: Boar, r., horse above. Rev: Horse, r., bull head below, serpent above. Accessed from <https://mrbccoins.com/cgi-bin/lotinfo.pl?id=5103>, 13.09.2019.

The appearance of hoards of Gallic bronze (e.g. Fig 5.7) in the south of Belgic Gaul suggests that their deposition was related to the *quinarii*. Bronze coinage was also struck in central Gaul, so these coins may have been favoured in the area dominated by *quinarii* hoards due to the familiarity of auxiliaries with the coins.¹⁹⁸ Bronze coins are found in the same fortified sites as *quinarii*, where they were found in comparable, and in many cases much higher, numbers than the Gallic *quinarii*.¹⁹⁹ It is probable that these coins were used alongside each other in a commercial role, and the higher number of bronze coins indicates that low-level transactions were on the rise, suggesting the movement of Gallic auxiliaries to Belgic Gaul was stimulating monetisation. Potins also appeared in large numbers on sites in Belgic Gaul.²⁰⁰ Hoards that contained both potins and struck bronze in Belgic Gaul were relatively common; nine out of 18 bronze hoards in Belgic Gaul allocated to 60-20 BC contained both.²⁰¹ Potins seem to have continued service in Belgic Gaul and were used alongside struck bronze, but the struck bronze was produced after the potins and seems to have been their intended replacement.²⁰² However, this replacement event did not result in mass hoarding as in the British Kingdoms, suggesting there was a need for bronze coinage in Belgic Gaul and old potins continued to be used to accommodate for a lack of supply.

The appearance of bronze coinage on sites in large numbers implies that they served an important role in Belgic Gaul after the Gallic Wars. This role had to be initially filled by Gallic rather than Roman bronze. We have seen that Roman *denarii* were not entering the

¹⁹⁸ Nash (1978) 201.

¹⁹⁹ Delestrée, Boisard & Boulenger (2006) 17; Van Heesch (2008) 32-33; Delestrée & Boisard (2010) 30.

²⁰⁰ Haselgrove (2005) 148, fig 4; Delestrée, Boisard & Boulenger (2006) 17; Delestrée & Boisard (2010) 30.

²⁰¹ Brionne, Châlons-sur-Marne, Chilly, Molliens-Dreuil, Pernois, Reims, Saint-André-sur-Cailly, Saint-Beuve-en-Rivière, Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives.

²⁰² Gruel & Haselgrove (2006) 130.

area in great quantities, and this may also be the case for Roman bronze, as Roman official production of small denominations did not occur between 82-46 BC, so the chances of it entering Belgic Gaul in any great number is low.²⁰³ Regional mints were active outside of Italy and non-civic mints that systematically produced bronze coins based on issues from foreign, non-Roman mints, supplemented the earlier supply of bronze coins.²⁰⁴ Regional mints were vital for local currency supply, as witnessed in Iberia, where over half of the bronze issues were produced locally.²⁰⁵ Such mints seem to have occurred in Belgic Gaul, and they seemingly ceased once Augustan bronze had arrived to fill the gap. At this point, the Gallic bronze may have been deposited as it was replaced by Roman issues, perhaps in a similar manner to the potin hoards of the British Kingdoms.

The hoards of Gallic bronze tended to be deposited slightly northwards of the principal zone of *quinarii* hoards around Paris, suggesting certain areas had different access to coins. Despite the somewhat close distribution of Gallic bronze hoards, the contents of the hoards varied greatly, and no two hoards had a similar composition. A number of the hoards were fairly homogenous, such as the Amiens II hoard that contained coins attributed only to the Ambiani.²⁰⁶ Others contained a mix of coins produced in different areas.²⁰⁷ Bronze was only rarely hoarded with silver, similar to Roman coin hoards and indeed other hoards within Belgic Gaul, which usually only contained coins of a single metal.²⁰⁸ It is probable that the distinction between metals was the result of differences in the intrinsic value between the coins; even though the Gallic coins were falling out of use, their precious metal value still would have been important. There may also have been a chronological factor, with either the *quinarii* or bronze falling out of use first.

Non-gold hoards in the Eastern Channel: a synthesis

The appearance of non-gold coin hoards allocated to this period represents a major change in coin hoarding in the Eastern Channel. This is primarily due to the intervention of the Romans. Their presence introduced struck silver and struck bronze to Belgic Gaul, which was then copied by the British Kingdoms. This drove potins from circulation in the British

²⁰³ Hollander (2007) 25.

²⁰⁴ Hollander (2007) 26; Stannard & Frey-Kupper (2008).

²⁰⁵ Burnett (1987) 51.

²⁰⁶ Scheers (1977) 125; Amiens II, Blicquy, Labuissière II, Fraire I, Pommeroeul, Verzy.

²⁰⁷ Bois l'Abbé, Brionne, Châlon-sur-Marne, Chilly, Pernois, Reims, Saint-André-sur-Cailly, Sainte-Beuve-en-Rivière.

²⁰⁸ Duncan-Jones (1994) 68.

Kingdoms and forced Gauls to rely upon the earlier potins that would otherwise have gone out of use. Evidently in Gaul not enough coinage was being produced, either because of disruptions in coin production, or because the Roman presence encouraged increased monetisation.

The disparity in hoards, however, conceals that the development of Iron Age struck silver and bronze occurred in tandem across the Eastern Channel. Belgic Gaul introduced struck silver and bronze in response to Rome, yet the British Kingdoms were compelled to develop a similar form of coinage. Struck silver and bronze coinage shared common traits on both sides of the Channel; their production began or intensified after the Gallic Wars, they often depicted images from classical mythology or had iconography inspired by classical designs, they bore legends written in Latin, they were struck rather than cast and there were both silver and bronze examples. The reason that the British Kingdoms copied the coinage in Belgic Gaul, despite not having a need imposed by the Romans to do so, is that the coinage of the British Kingdoms had always followed developments in Belgic Gaul. The first experiment with coinage in the British Kingdoms was using Gallo-Belgic designs, and they soon after produced their own coinage, such as staters and potins, based on what was present in Belgic Gaul. Struck silver and bronze coinage was a development of this process. This suggests that the producers of coins in the British Kingdoms were keen to echo developments in Belgic Gaul, perhaps because of cross-Channel political and social ties that benefitted from sharing a similar culture, which involved a comparable form of coinage.

Creighton believed that the classical iconography on British coins was the result of British kings growing up in Rome as political hostages, who upon their return commissioned coinage struck in a Roman style.²⁰⁹ This is based on references to British kings seeking help from Augustus, the presence of British individuals (though not necessarily kings) in Rome and the range of coin types, some of which were drawn from prototypes across the Mediterranean.²¹⁰ However, images that served as the subject matter for British coins were already present in abundance in Belgic Gaul. These not only include the Gallic coins that appeared in the aftermath of the invasion, but the (Roman and otherwise) coins from

²⁰⁹ Creighton (2000) 89.

²¹⁰ Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, 60.19; *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* 32; Strabo, *Geography*, 4.5.2; e.g. the Jupiter Ammon coin with a Cyrenaican or Numidian prototype (ABC 2978); Morris (2013) 36.

across the Mediterranean that were brought in by Roman soldiers.²¹¹ Indeed, some of the most common images that appeared on coins of the British Kingdoms were some of the most prevailing images found on the coins in hoards in Belgic Gaul (Table 5.7).

| Top ten common images on <i>quinarii</i> and Roman coins in Belgic Gaul hoards (60 BC to AD 43) | Top ten images that appear on the most coin types in the British Kingdoms |
|---|---|
| 1. Horse (341 examples) | 1. Horse (107 types) |
| 2. Victory (165 examples) | 2. Horseman (35 types) |
| 3. Chariot (127 examples) | 3. Bull (27 types) |
| 4. Boar (69 examples) | 4. Boar (26 types) |
| 5. Trophy (67 examples) | 5. Pegasus (23 types) |
| 6. Soldier/Mars (54 examples) | 6. Eagle (17 types) |
| 7. Elephant (47 examples) | 7. Lion (16 types) |
| 8. Lion (45 examples) | 8. Dog (14 types) |
| 9. Priestly symbols (43 examples) | 9. Victory (12 types) |
| 10. Horseman (36 examples) | 10. Griffin (7 types) |

Table 5.7: Concordance of most common coin images on known types in hoards in Belgic Gaul (60 BC to AD 43) and the most common images that appear on inscribed coin types of the eastern and southern kingdoms.

I do not believe that there is a need to imagine long-distance relationships between Britain and Rome, when the images that inspired British coin designs were accessible from a closer source, not to mention one that had previously inspired earlier British coins. The struck silver and bronze of the British Kingdoms was but another form of coinage inspired by Belgic Gaul. The importance of the Romans in the development of this style of coinage is that they triggered it in Belgic Gaul, which would then go on to inspire the British images. Cross-Channel connections in the coinage remained important even after the Roman invasion of Gaul, suggesting communities on both sides of the Channel did not forget their previous ties, whether they were based on a similarity in culture or through political alliances.

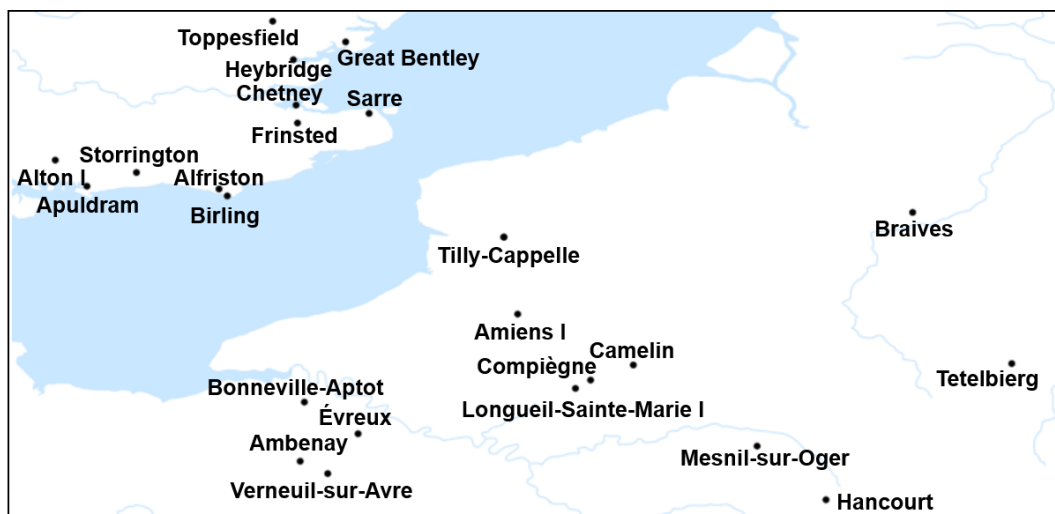
5.8: Hoards of Coins Dating to the Augustan Period (20 BC to AD 14)

Coin hoards allocated to the reign of Augustus marked a further fundamental shift in the hoarding relationship across the Channel (Maps 5.22-23). In the British Kingdoms, gold hoarding continued as it had before, with no apparent interest in hoarding other metals. In Belgic Gaul, Gallic coins continued to be hoarded, but in smaller quantities and usually separate from Roman issues. Belgic Gaul was increasingly occupied by Roman forces,

²¹¹ Doyen (2011) 267.

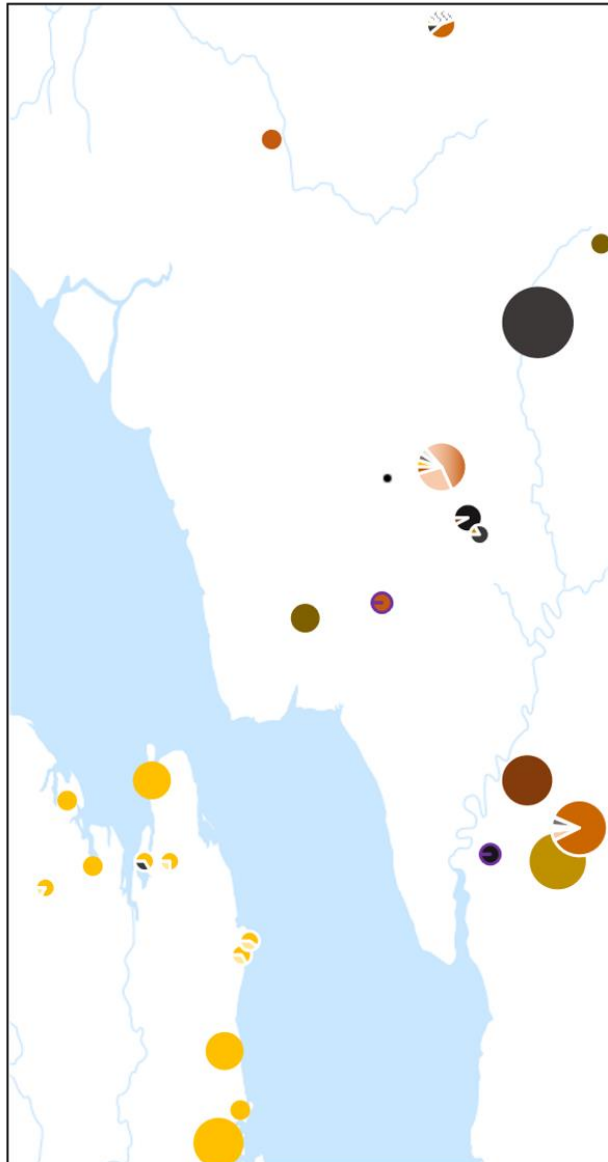
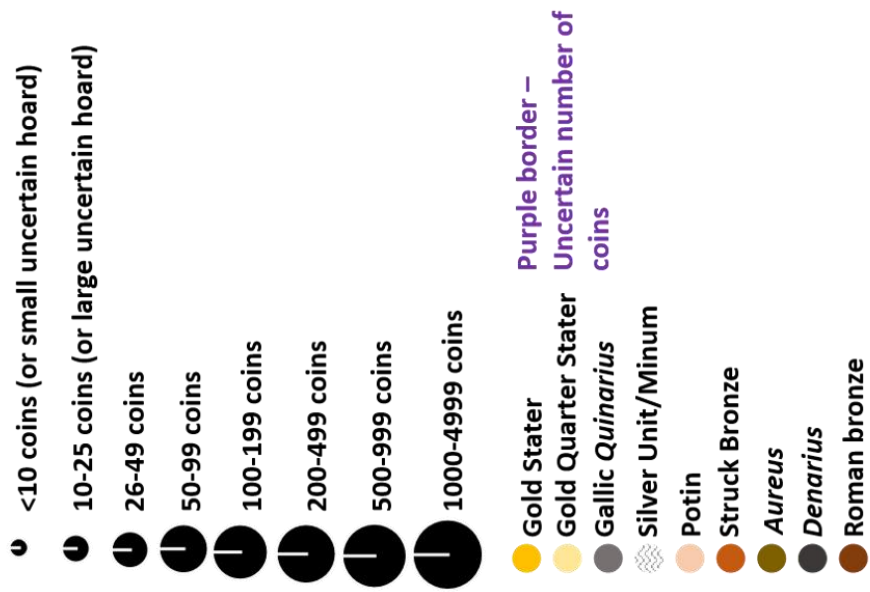
resulting in Roman coin hoards forming the majority of hoards, which would become the norm of hoarding in the region from this period onwards.²¹²

Any similarity in hoards across the Channel had almost entirely disappeared by this period, as a result of increased Roman interference in Belgic Gaul transforming the norms of coinage. One of the two denominations hoarded on both sides of the Channel was the *denarius*. It appeared in many hoards in Belgic Gaul, but in only one example in the British Kingdoms, the Chetney hoard, which was hardly representative of a close relationship between Roman coins and Iron Age coins of the British Kingdoms. The only other denomination shared in hoards across the Channel were gold staters, which were commonplace in the British Kingdoms but appeared in only small numbers (1-2) in hoards in Belgic Gaul (Camelin, Tetelbiere and Verneuil-sur-Avre hoards). The hoards of Belgic Gaul and the British Kingdoms now almost entirely differed from one another, suggesting that the relationship between coinage on both sides of the Channel had almost completely broken down.



Map 5.22: Hoards in the Eastern Channel allocated to the Augustan period (20 BC to AD 14). Created by author using Antiquity À-la-carte.

²¹² Martin (2015) 327-328.



Map 5.23: Composition of hoards in the Eastern Channel allocated to the Augustan period (20 BC to AD 14). Created by author using *Antiquity À-la-carte*.

5.8.1: Hoards of the British Kingdoms in the Augustan Period

The gold hoards in the British Kingdoms were fewer and tended to be smaller than those from the preceding period. The small number and size of the hoards is comparable to the 200-61 BC period, but they have a distinct north and south distribution, akin to the 60-20 BC period. It is probable that the large number of hoards deposited in 60-20 BC was caused by the stress of the Gallic Wars, which led to Britons fighting abroad as well as at home. In the Augustan period, no equivalent Roman military action occurred in Britain, and there are no known major events in this period that would have had a major impact on the recovery of hoards.²¹³ Additionally, the British Kingdoms no longer had access to continental gold, therefore the number of coins may have declined as Britain came to rely on its own production, particularly as the extensive numbers of Gallo-Belgic E coins were no longer crossing the Channel. This too would have impacted the availability of coins for hoarding.

With the exception of the Frinsted hoard, which terminated in the coin of a minor Kentish ruler, all the hoards of Kent and Essex terminated in coins of Dubnovellaunos. It has been suggested that the eastern kingdom expanded into northern Kent in this period, based on the coins of Dubnovellaunos appearing both north of the Thames and in Kent.²¹⁴ The coin types of Dubnovellaunos in Kent differ from those in Essex, so there seem to have been separate mints operating in each region.²¹⁵ There are suspicions that there were two individuals named Dubnovellaunos, one in Kent and one in Essex, but this would be highly coincidental, and it is more plausible that the coins refer to the same individual, with different communities striking coins with his name.²¹⁶ This would account for the difference in types. The coin types of Cunobelin, the apparent successor to Dubnovellaunos, also appeared in Kent, thus it seems that the expansion into Kent occurred under the rule of a single individual named Dubnovellaunos.²¹⁷

²¹³ Although there is evidence of emperors planning invasions of Britain; see Creighton (2006) 29; Russell (2010) 64.

²¹⁴ Sills (2017) 62.

²¹⁵ Kent types: ABC 297-354; Essex types: ABC 2389-2416.

²¹⁶ Nash (1987) 132; Creighton (2000) 75; Leins (2012) 92; Sills (2017) 62.

²¹⁷ Leins (2012) 100, fig 4.24.

Quarter staters continued to be found in hoards alongside gold staters.²¹⁸ However, hoards which contained quarter staters were small and distributed in Sussex and Kent, again between the main coin producing kingdoms. It seemingly remained preferable to hoard staters over the smaller quarter starters. Hoards that contained only gold staters occurred close to what was probably their centres of production (Camulodonum, central Hampshire), and quarter staters were only hoarded if staters were not as regularly available.²¹⁹ Indeed, no hoard of only quarter staters existed in this period. This would suggest that hoards were primarily a form of wealth storage, with higher value coins forming the mainstay of British Kingdoms hoards. Silver and bronze coins were not hoarded at all, further suggesting that such denominations were not deemed valuable enough to be hoarded and that the hoards of such coins in the previous periods were outliers.

5.8.2: Hoards of Belgic Gaul in the Augustan Period

Unlike the British Kingdoms, hoards in Belgic Gaul consisted of gold, silver and bronze, but most hoards now included Roman coins. Of the 12 hoards in Belgic Gaul attributed to this period, nine contained at least one Roman specimen, and of these seven contained only Roman coins without any Gallic coins present.²²⁰ By this period, Roman coins had entered the region in greater numbers, owing to the deployment of troops as part of Augustus' campaign in Germany.²²¹ These coins were initially concentrated around the Rhineland, related to the threats faced on the frontier. Additionally, it would take time before Roman coinage entered the civilian part of Belgic Gaul in the west, accounting for the longevity of Gallic coinage in that area.²²²

However, at some point in this period, enough Roman coins had entered the region that the Gallic coinage was no longer necessary and was driven from circulation.²²³ The few remaining hoards of Gallic coinage in this period had unusual features. The Camelin, Tetelbiert and Verneuil-sur-Avre hoards each contained a mixture of Gallic gold, silver and bronze coins, and the Camelin and Verneuil-sur-Avre hoards contained coins from across

²¹⁸ Alfriston, Birling, Frinsted, Toppesfield.

²¹⁹ Alton I, Apuldrum, Heybridge, Storrington.

²²⁰ Roman only: Ambenay, Bonneville-Aptot, Compiègne, Évreux, Hancourt, Mesnil-sur-Oger, Tilly-Cappelle. Mix of Gallic and Roman: Tetelbiert, Verneuil-sur-Avre.

²²¹ Martin (2015) 453.

²²² Martin (2015) 453.

²²³ Gruel & Haselgrove (2006) 131.

Belgic Gaul. Eastern Channel hoards rarely contained a mix of metals, nor contained coins from a range of different regions, so the hoards of this period not only represent a replacement of Eastern Channel coins but of the norms surrounding their use. The Roman presence had thoroughly disrupted the system of coins in Belgic Gaul.

Two patterns of hoards exist in this period; the homogenous Roman hoards and the diverse Gallic hoards. The Verneuil-sur-Avre hoard contained coins from south-west Gaul, central Gaul and Massalia. There is evidence that these coins arrived through the Roman military, as Massalian and south-west Gallic coins appeared in legionary fortresses in Germany such as the Hunerburg, suggesting that the coins were present during the *Germania* campaigns.²²⁴ These coins also appeared on *oppida* sites where Roman soldiers were present, such as Bibracte and Chaussée-Tirancourt.²²⁵ A number of these coins may have arrived earlier: potin coins that were produced prior to Gallic Wars were inspired by Massalian issues, so at least some of these southern coins or their central Gallic derivatives must have been seen by the coin producers of Belgic Gaul before the arrival of the Roman military. Nevertheless, the Roman military seem to have encouraged the arrival of a range of coins into the region and this movement was not one way: Gallic coin types are found in Mediterranean cities such as Carthage and returning Roman soldiers may have brought them home.²²⁶

The second pattern of hoards in Belgic Gaul were the homogenous Roman hoards. The distinction between the gold and non-gold Iron Age coins in hoards was not only an Iron Age tradition, but also a Roman one, but the Roman tradition extended to hoards of different metals. Of the seven hoards that contained only Roman coins in this period, only the Compiègne hoard (12 *denarii*, 1 *as*) had Roman coins of a mix of different metals.²²⁷ The separation of metals is fairly commonplace in the Roman world: amongst the 43 hoards of Roman coins in Iberia from 50 BC to AD 43, hoards of different metals did not occur.²²⁸ This separation of Roman denominations is not then unique to Belgic Gaul and represents

²²⁴ Kemmers (2006) 45, table 2.6, 50; Martin (2015) 331.

²²⁵ Martin (2013) 340.

²²⁶ Frey-Kupper (2016) 213.

²²⁷ Ambenay, Bonneville-Aptot, Compiègne, Hancourt, Mesnil-sur-Oger, Tetelbiert, Tilly-Cappelle.

²²⁸ Based upon Crawford (1969); Blázquez (1988); Villaronga (1993); Duncan-Jones (1994) 68; Coin Hoards of the Roman Empire Project.

Roman coinage entering the region alongside a Roman understanding of how these coins should be hoarded.

While the hoards were fairly representative of widespread patterns of Roman hoarding, the presence of soldiers resulted in a peculiar situation developing. In Iberia the vast majority of Iberian hoards that contained Roman coins in this period were comprised of *denarii*, yet in the frontier region of Belgic Gaul in this period only three hoards contained only *denarii*, compared to three that contained only *aurei*.²²⁹ The soldiers seem to have transported a significant number of *aurei* to the region, as the density of 1st century BC *aurei* in Belgic Gaul was twice that of central Gaul.²³⁰ This would explain why the *aurei* hoards appeared in the region, which were otherwise a rarity throughout the Roman empire where *denarii* dominated most of the hoards.²³¹ On only two occasions were the Roman coins hoarded alongside Gallic coins, and in these hoards only one or two Roman coins were present amongst the tens or hundreds of Gallic examples.²³² There was almost a complete distinction between Roman and Gallic coins; the Roman hoards tended to be comprised of a single denomination whereas the Gallic hoards were a mix of different denominations. It is probable that the two sets were deposited under different circumstances. The Gallic coins were falling out of use, hence the norms surrounding their hoarding were not observed, but the Roman coins were increasingly trusted as a long-term store of wealth, thus there was better care in the composition of the Roman hoards.

The Lugdunum and Nemausus mints became active in this period, producing a large number of bronze coins for Rome and the frontier.²³³ This large output seemingly would eventually prove sufficient to fulfil the need for bronze coins in Belgic Gaul. However, the coin output of these two mints seems to have only become relevant for coin hoards towards the end of this period, hence only the Évreux hoard contained a significant quantity of Augustan bronzes.²³⁴ Bronze coins also did not have the value of gold and silver,

²²⁹ Based upon Crawford (1969); Blázquez (1988); Villaronga (1993); Coin Hoards of the Roman Empire Project. *Aurei* hoards: Ambenay, Hancourt, Tilly Cappelle. *Denarii* hoards: Bonneville-Aptot, Compiègne, Mesnil-sur-Oger.

²³⁰ Haselgrove (2006) 102.

²³¹ Duncan-Jones (1994) 68.

²³² Tetelbierg, Verneuil-sur-Avre.

²³³ Haselgrove (2005) 170; Wolters (2012) 339, 351.

²³⁴ Martin (2015) 454.

so depositors aiming to create a store of wealth would have overlooked them. Lugdunum's close proximity allowed the western provinces of the empire to receive significant imports of bronze coins, which may be one of the causes of the decline of local coin production in the west of the empire, whereas silver and bronze striking continued in the eastern empire.²³⁵ Indeed, 65% of the *dupondii* struck at Lugdunum and Vienne are found on military sites, suggesting that these coins were primarily designed for military usage.²³⁶ As a result, Belgic Gaul, close to the frontier, would have been a prime location for Roman bronze imports and local bronze would have been less necessary. Their presence in the region seemingly resulted in driving the Gallic bronze from circulation, resulting in the latter appearing in hoards. A coin does not have to be hoarded to have profound impacts on the coin hoarding of a region.

The production of struck Gallic silver appears to have ceased prior to this period. However, in the last few decades of the 1st century BC, some Gallic bronze continued whereas the Gallic *quinarii* did not.²³⁷ This may be the result of the active demonetisation of the Gallic *quinarii*, as silver may have been considered by the Romans as their jurisdiction, whereas they were more lenient with bronze.²³⁸ Regardless, somewhere between the end of the Augustan to the Early Julio-Claudian period, Gallic bronze had also fallen out of circulation. Either this leniency had come to an end or more plausibly the Roman bronze in the region was of sufficient quantity that Gallic bronze was no longer required.²³⁹ The only hoards that contained solely Gallic bronze in this period were the Braives and Amiens I hoards, which contained AVAVCIA and GERMANVS INDVTILLI L coins respectively.²⁴⁰ These coins may have been used to supplement the small change supply in Roman forts.²⁴¹ The hoards were located in a region where a large number of hoards of the 60-20 BC period were present, some of which contained Gallic bronzes. It is probable that these Augustan hoards were associated, and they may represent a later extension of the earlier phenomenon. Alternatively, the hoards allocated to 60-20 BC may in fact have been deposited in this

²³⁵ Amandry (2012) 395.

²³⁶ Martin (2015) 150.

²³⁷ Haselgrove (2005) 171, table 12.

²³⁸ Aarts & Roymans (2009) 11.

²³⁹ Beliën (2009) 51.

²⁴⁰ Amiens I, Braives.

²⁴¹ Aarts & Roymans (2009) 15; Beliën (2009) 51.

period, at a time when Gallic coinage was fading out of use and was driven from circulation.

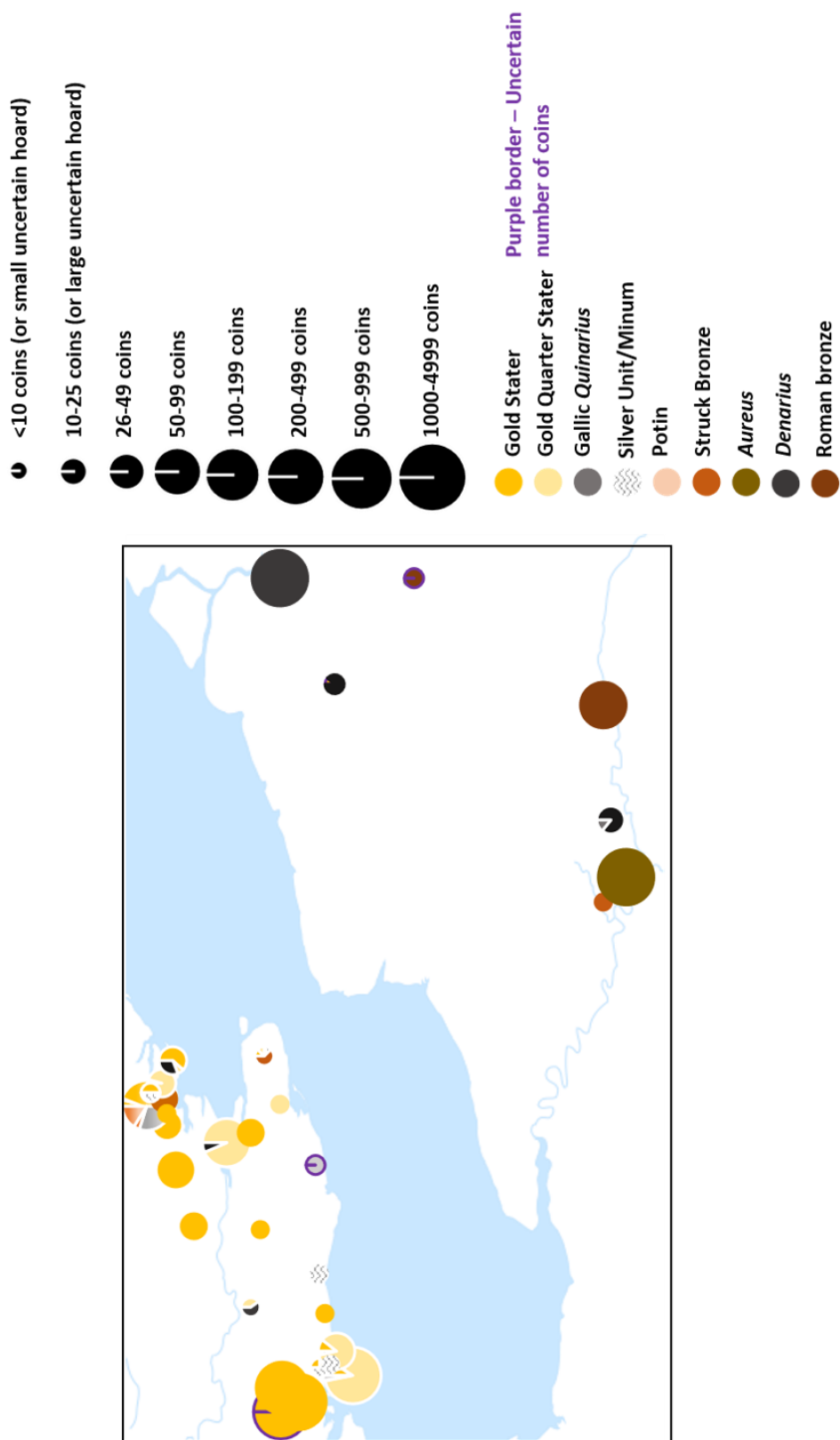
5.9: Hoards of Coins Dating to the Early Julio-Claudian Period (AD 15-43)

The hoards allocated to this period demonstrate a continuation of the trends witnessed throughout this chapter (Maps 5.24-25). The British Kingdoms maintained their traditional preference for gold hoarding, while in Belgic Gaul, Roman coins had almost completely superseded Gallic coinage in hoards. Aside from the few *denarii* and *aurei* present among the British Kingdoms hoards, which themselves could have been deposited after the Claudian invasion of Britain, the two sides of the Eastern Channel had distinct patterns of coin hoards, demonstrating the impact of Roman rule.²⁴² Many of the British Kingdoms hoards were similar to those that came before, but there were a few significant deviations, as quarter staters and struck silver coins appeared in hoards in greater numbers than in the Augustan period. These changes in the hoard pattern were similar to 60-20 BC, and these deviations can be linked to crises, previously the Gallic Wars, now the Claudian invasion of Britain.



Map 5.24: Hoards of Belgic Gaul allocated to the Early Julio-Claudian period (AD 15-43). Created by author using Antiquity À-la-carte.

²⁴² Borden, Cobham, Stoke, Weeley.



Map 5.25: Composition of hoards in the Eastern Channel allocated to the Early Julio-Claudian period (AD 15-43). Created by author using *Antiquity À-la-carte*.

Of the eight hoards in Belgic Gaul allocated to this period, six terminated in coins of Tiberius.²⁴³ Overall, minting under Tiberius was smaller and less regular than the coins produced under Augustus, yet despite this, a hoard of c. 200-300 of his coins was assembled.²⁴⁴ It must be noted that these hoards may not necessarily date to his reign: later Julio-Claudian emperors produced even fewer coins, so depositors under these emperors would have been forced to utilise earlier coins.²⁴⁵ Nevertheless, these hoards reflect a general period of campaigns and frontier conflicts along the *Germania* border, which account for the number of *denarii* hoards that have penetrated into northern Belgium, a location where previously hoards of Roman coins were rare. Indeed, the general distribution of hoards in Belgic Gaul have moved eastwards compared to the Augustan period (Maps 5.19, 5.24), closer to the frontier and the threat and dangers of warfare, which would account for the deposition and failed recovery of more hoards in this area.

| Denominations present | Hoards | Total |
|------------------------------------|---|-------|
| <i>Aureus</i> only | Rue de Cherbourg | 1 |
| Gold stater, <i>denarius</i> | Kwaremont | 1 |
| <i>Denarius</i> only | Hingene | 1 |
| <i>Denarius</i> , <i>quinarius</i> | Saint-Mard | 1 |
| Bronze only | Château-Thierry, Fontaine-Valmont, Tournelles | 3 |

Table 5.8: Composition of hoards allocated to the Early Julio-Claudian period by denomination.

Unlike the previous period, there was a greater willingness to hoard coins of different denominations, although hoards with a single denomination still dominated (Table 5.8). Hoards with multiple denominations tended to be smaller (less than 20 coins) than hoards with a single denomination (Map 5.25). The combined hoards of two denominations seem to have occurred when the depositor only had a limited number of coins available, and thus could not afford to be selective. The presence of large and small *aurei* hoards paralleled the previous period. The Château-Thierry hoard, while terminating in this period, contained a large number of Augustan bronze coins. There may have been a wider shortage of bronze coins throughout the western empire, but this did not seem to impact Belgic Gaul owing to the large influx of bronze coins it had received in the late Augustan period.²⁴⁶ *Denarii* appeared in half of the Belgic Gaul hoards, as is to be expected of the most common denomination in hoards across the Roman world, so most of the hoards in Belgic Gaul match an empire-wide trend. The region's coinage now increasingly reflected a Roman

²⁴³ Château-Thierry, Rue de Cherbourg, Hingene, Kwaremont, Saint Mard, Tournelles.

²⁴⁴ Wolters (2012) 346; Rue de Cherbourg.

²⁴⁵ Wolters (2012) 346.

²⁴⁶ Martin (2015) 455.

monetary system, although the proportion of mixed hoards of multiple metals and *aurei* hoards remained high.

Gallic coins had fallen out of use by this period. Belgic Gaul had now been integrated into the Roman world and the Roman army were bringing in enough coins to sustain a Roman monetary system.²⁴⁷ It has been tentatively suggested that the presence of gold staters among Roman issues in the Kwaremont hoard and the GERMANVS INDVTILLI L bronzes in the Tournelles hoard could mark the final regions where Iron Age gold coinage was still in circulation.²⁴⁸ Likewise, a small number of gold staters were also present in the Tetelbiërg and Verneuil-sur-Avre hoards of the Augustan period. In each case only one or two coins were hoarded, which does not suggest particularly widespread circulation, so it seems more plausible that they were residual issues that were hoarded for their bullion rather than the coins retaining their former role.²⁴⁹ The GERMANVS INDVTILLI L coin was buried amongst Tiberian bronzes in the Tournelles hoard, and there may have been plans to use it alongside Roman bronze. GERMANVS INDVTILLI L coins were not found in any other hoard from this period, so its inclusion here may have been related to the small size of the hoard (nine coins), suggesting the depositor was hoarding what they had available, even if it was not preferred.

²⁴⁷ Martin (2015) 328.

²⁴⁸ Scheers (1977) 77.

²⁴⁹ Scheers (1977) 77.

5.9.1: Hoards of the British Kingdoms in the Early Julio-Claudian Period (AD 15-43)



Map 5.26: Hoards of the British Kingdoms allocated to the Early Julio-Claudian period (AD 15-43). Created by author using *Antiquity À-la-carte*.

Hoarding in the British Kingdoms was more extensive than that of Belgic Gaul in this period (Map 5.26). In some respects, the British Kingdoms continued the coin hoarding traditions explored in the previous period; 22 out of the 25 hoards contained at least one stater or quarter stater.²⁵⁰ However, 13 hoards contained non-gold issues; a rarity in the earlier periods of the region.²⁵¹ A willingness to hoard coins of different metals appears to have developed in the coin hoards allocated to this period and nine hoards contained a mixture of gold and silver and/or bronze coins.²⁵² This could represent a movement to a Roman system of coinage, perhaps due to contact with Belgic Gaul, but this deposition development should not be over exaggerated: on only one occasion did the number of non-gold coins in a hoard exceed ten, and information about this hoard (Colchester I) is limited, with the types unknown. Nevertheless, despite their small number, their presence alone indicates something had changed in hoarding practices.

²⁵⁰ Adisham, Alton II, Ardleigh, Battle, Bentworth, Bognor, Borden, Chawton, Cobham, Colchester I?, Colchester III, Colchester (east of II), Epping Upland, Great Waltham, Kingsnorth, Marks Tey II, Patching, Selsey, Stoke, Weeley, Westerham III, West Lavant.

²⁵¹ Adisham, Ardleigh, Battle, Bognor, Chichester II, Cobham, Colchester I & II, Henfield, Selsey, Stoke, Weeley, West Lavant.

²⁵² Adisham, Ardleigh, Bognor, Cobham, Colchester I, Selsey, Stoke, Weeley, West Lavant.

The diversity and the increased number of the British Kingdoms hoards is reminiscent of the 60-20 BC period, and a similar cause of these changes can be posited: a crisis caused by the Roman invasion, but this time it was the Claudian invasion of AD 43, rather than the Gallic Wars. Many of the non-gold coins that were hoarded were Roman, rather than local, issues.²⁵³ I have proposed that Roman coins arrived in Britain in large numbers only after the Claudian invasion (3.3), so the presence of Roman coins in hoards implies a post-Claudian date. Indeed, the Borden, Cobham, Stoke and Weeley hoards all contained Roman coins and gold staters or quarter staters of Cunobelin's plastic or classic type. These were the last in his series, produced shortly before the Claudian invasion, further suggesting that the hoards date to after the invasion. This further demonstrates that many of these hoards and the peculiar patterns therein were products of the Roman conquest.

Hoards in the British Kingdoms allocated to this period that contained *denarii* always contained gold staters and/or quarter staters rather than coins of other metals. This contrasts to the hoards in Belgic Gaul from previous periods, which rarely contained both staters and *denarii*. This distinction may have been the result of the *denarii* in Belgic Gaul only arriving long after the Gallic Wars, whereas in Britain they arrived immediately following the Claudian invasion. By the time *denarii* arrived in Belgic Gaul, staters and quarter staters would have long left circulation, but in the immediate aftermath of the Claudian invasion, staters and quarter staters would have been available in the British Kingdoms, and thus could be hoarded. An unusual aspect of the hoarding pattern of the British Kingdoms was that despite classical iconography on coins appearing on the Iron Age silver and bronze coins but not the gold, *denarii* were only hoarded with the latter. The similar iconography of local non-gold coinage and the incoming *denarii* did not seem to prompt their use together. This further suggests that the introduction of inscribed struck silver and bronze in the British Kingdoms was prompted by a desire to imitate Belgic Gaul rather than a desire to reproduce a Roman system, as these coins did not appear to have been compatible with Roman currency.

Staters and to some extent quarter staters were the dominant form of hoarding in the British Kingdoms and the same is true of *denarii* in the Roman world.²⁵⁴ The mixing of the

²⁵³ Cobham, Stoke, Weeley.

²⁵⁴ Creighton (2014) 125.

two forms represents the hoarding traditions of both cultures coming into contact. Gold staters and quarter staters were traditional forms of hoarding and they had a high intrinsic value, hence they were hoarded in this period. The *denarii* coins had use within the Roman monetary system that was now in place after the conquest and were also intrinsically valuable. These hoards then may represent depositors selecting the highest valued (or rather most useful) denominations of both the Iron Age and Roman traditions. This might have occurred in Belgic Gaul in 60-20 BC had the *denarii* arrived earlier. Roman bronze was not found amongst hoards of Iron Age coins; unsurprising, given that Roman bronze was such a rarity in the mid-1st century AD. This can be demonstrated by the famous local imitations of Claudian bronze coins that appeared throughout Britain in the aftermath of the Claudian invasion, which were designed to compensate for a lack of official bronze coinage.²⁵⁵

| Ruler | Estimated reign | Kingdom | Number of gold stater reverse dies |
|----------------|-----------------|------------------|------------------------------------|
| Commios | c. 50-25 | Southern Kingdom | 31 |
| Tincomarus | c. 25 BC-AD 10 | Southern Kingdom | 23 |
| Eppillus | c. 20 BC-AD 1 | Southern Kingdom | 5 |
| Verica | c. AD 10-40 | Southern Kingdom | 43 |
| Addedomaros | c. 45 BC-25 BC | Eastern Kingdom | 86 |
| Dubnovellaunos | c. 25 BC-AD 5 | Eastern Kingdom | 38 |
| Cunobelin | c. 8-41 AD | Eastern Kingdom | 147 |

Table 5.9: Total number of reverse dies by ruler of coins in the British Kingdoms (Sills (2017) 592, fig 141, 765, 769, estimated reign based on Rudd (2010).

The largest hoards in the British Kingdoms in this period were found in the kingdom south of the Thames, each measuring over 100 coins.²⁵⁶ No hoards of even more than 50 coins appeared in the northern kingdom, despite their consistently higher mint output (Table 5.9). More coins were available in the north, yet they were not hoarded, again suggesting availability of coinage was not necessarily a factor in the composition of hoards. Sills suggests that the reduced coin production in the south related to weaker economic conditions or that the south was less monetised.²⁵⁷ The latter theory seems the more plausible given the larger number of hoards in the eastern kingdom: it is possible that wealth was concentrated around select individuals in the kingdom south of the Thames, whereas in the kingdom north of the Thames coins were distributed across a larger region

²⁵⁵ Harper (2010).

²⁵⁶ Alton II, Bentworth, Chawton, Selsey.

²⁵⁷ Sills (2017) 765.

and more people. The hoards were thus smaller in the north but larger and less plentiful in the south.

Unlike Belgic Gaul, Roman coinage appeared to swiftly replace the British Kingdoms coinage after the area was conquered by Rome in AD 43, so these hoards mark the end of indigenous coin production in the region under study.²⁵⁸

²⁵⁸ Bean (2000) 209; Holman (2005c) 33.

5.10: Chapter Summary

| Composition | | British Kingdoms | | | | Belgic Gaul | | | | Total |
|-------------------------------|---|------------------|----------|-----|-----|-------------|----------|-----|-----|-------|
| Contents | With | 200-61 BC | 60-20 BC | Aug | EJC | 200-61 BC | 60-20 BC | Aug | EJC | |
| Staters | alone | 5 | 17 | 6 | 10 | 13 | 45 | | | 96 |
| | quarter staters | 2 | 21 | 4 | 1 | 5 | 9 | | | 42 |
| | quarter staters and Iron Age struck silver/bronze | | 1 | | 5 | 1 | | | | 7 |
| | Iron Age struck silver/bronze | | | | 1 | | 1 | 1 | | 3 |
| | Iron Age struck silver/bronze and potins | | | | | | 1 | 1 | | 2 |
| | Iron Age struck silver/bronze and Roman coins | | | | | | 1 | | | 1 |
| | Iron Age struck silver/bronze, Roman coins and potins | | | | | | | 1 | | 1 |
| | potins | | | | | | 2 | | | 2 |
| Quarter staters | alone | | 6 | | 1 | 2 | | | | 9 |
| | Iron Age struck silver/bronze | | 2 | | | | 1 | | | 3 |
| | Iron Age struck silver/bronze and potins | | | | | 1 | | | | 1 |
| Iron Age struck silver/bronze | alone | | 3 | | 3 | 1 | 12 | 2 | | 21 |
| | Roman coins | | | | | | 2 | | 1 | 3 |
| Potins | alone | 23 | | | | 2 | 3 | | | 28 |
| | Iron Age struck silver/bronze | 1 | | | | | 7 | | | 8 |
| | Roman coins | | 1 | | | | | | | 1 |
| | Iron Age struck silver/bronze and Roman coins | | | | | | 1 | | | 1 |
| Roman coins | alone | | | | | | 4 | 8 | 5 | 17 |
| | staters/quarter staters | | | 1 | 4 | | 1 | | 1 | 7 |
| Total | | 31 | 51 | 11 | 25 | 25 | 90 | 13 | 7 | 253 |

Table 5.10: Hoard composition of the Eastern Channel

The Eastern Channel is well known for the cross-Channel connections between its coinage, most notably demonstrated in the movement of Gallo-Belgic coins northward. However,

this chapter has demonstrated the ease with which these cross-Channel links were disrupted in the face of Roman imperialism. The large number of hoards in 60-20 BC represents a time of stress as a result of the Gallic Wars (Table 5.10). What followed was a dramatic change in coin hoarding styles, but not uniformly; coin hoarding continued as it had previously in the British Kingdoms. However, Julius Caesar's invasion dramatically changed the Gallic hoarding and seems to have disrupted the connection between the British Kingdoms and Belgic Gaul. This connection had encouraged the creation of the same coins and a similar hoarding patterns of gold staters and their separation from other denominations such as the potins. However, the hoarding of silver and bronze differed between both regions throughout the period, so it seems the main sign of cross-Channel connection was in the staters. This would seem to indicate that the deposition of staters and non-staters occurred for different purposes. The dominance of staters indicates that there was a connection between coin hoards and staters and this link is evaluated in the next chapter.

6: Understanding Stater Hoarding

This thesis has shown that studying the coinage of communities bordering the Channel based solely on modern national borders, i.e. Britain and France, is inadequate. Distinctive, cross-Channel patterns of coinage and coin hoarding can be witnessed in both the Eastern and Western Channel. I have shown that when studying Iron Age coinage, it is fruitful to divide the Channel vertically, with an east and west side, rather than a horizontal north and south axis. This has been accepted by scholars studying ancient trade, but rarely Iron Age numismatists.¹ With the Eastern and Western Channel axes established, one is in a better position to study patterns that are reflected in the data across the whole region.

One such pattern is the presence of staters in hoards throughout the region under study. Staters were the largest denomination of the Iron Age, often consisted of precious metal, and bore iconography originally drawn from Philip II of Macedon's coinage. Staters were the most common denomination hoarded in the period of study and this chapter is dedicated to understanding their significance. The principal topics examined are:

- the preference for hoarding staters over other denominations.
- the importance of ritual in the deposition of Iron Age coin hoards.
- the relationship between local and non-local coins in hoards.

Exceptions to these patterns represent areas of particularly unusual hoard activity, which are identified and explored.

6.1: The Prominence of Staters in Hoards

The vast majority of the hoards in the region under study contained staters and to some extent quarter staters. Of the 451 hoards of the dataset, 350 contained at least one example of a stater or quarter stater. This is partially to be expected, as these were almost the only denominations produced in the Western Channel, whose hoards form a large proportion of the dataset. However, a large number of stater hoards have also been found in the Eastern Channel, despite the presence of other denominations, and in the Eastern Channel these other denominations were rarely hoarded. There is a link between how Iron

¹ Morris (2010). See Methodology.

Age individuals used coin hoards and the stater/quarter stater system, and this connection occurred throughout the region under study. A simple explanation is that these coins were hoarded as they were the largest and most valuable. However, this was not the default position of all Iron Age hoarders. Different patterns exist beyond the region under study: in Norfolk, of the 36 hoards that have information on the denomination of the Iron Age coins, 20 contained silver units and of those 16 contained more silver units than staters.² The dominance of staters in hoards was thus a feature of the Channel region, not a general trend witnessed across other Iron Age communities in northern Europe.

Iron Age numismatists have predominantly been interested in the metal of the hoarded coins rather than their denomination. This is most evident in works that include site find data, which compile the coins into gold, silver, bronze and potins, but notably do not differentiate between gold staters and the much smaller gold quarter staters, despite the difference in size.³ The distinction in size was clearly important to the Iron Age users: quarter stater types often shared iconography with the stater types that they were associated with, so size was the only means to distinguish the coins. Most staters had a quarter stater equivalent, so the two denominations clearly each had their own importance. Therefore, it is necessary for modern numismatists to also differentiate between the two denominations. Indeed, the distinction between gold, silver and bronze may have been less relevant in decisions on what coins should be deposited together than it has been thought, and instead it was denominations that had significance.

I would like to explore the reason why staters and quarter staters were hoarded, often regardless of their metal, and why non-staters coins were deemed unfit for this purpose. I will refer to any denominations that do not conform to the stater and quarter stater system as “non-stater” coins. Although technically quarter staters are also non-stater coins, quarter staters were heavily linked to the staters in terms of their iconography, their proportional weight and their treatment in hoards, so they are considered part of the stater system.

² de Jersey (2014) 282-341, nos. 175-206.

³ Holman (2005c) 44-50, appendix 1; Delestrée, Boisard & Boulenger (2006) 17, fig B; Delestrée & Boisard (2010) 30; Wigg-Wolf (2018) 142, table 1.

6.1.1: The Absence of Non-Stater Coins

The dominance of staters and quarter staters in hoards and the rarity of non-stater hoards is seen throughout the region under study, despite regions developing their coinage in different ways. Belgic Gaul introduced the potin, as did the British Kingdoms, which in turn produced silver and bronze non-stater units. Armorica would eventually produce the *petits billons armoricains*, and the South-West British Coast, with the exception of central Hampshire, only produced stater and quarter stater denominations. These diverse approaches to denominations reflect the different needs of each region, yet the system of staters and quarter staters was deemed useful by all, particularly with regard to hoards.

The hoarding of staters and quarter staters did not just relate to the intrinsic value of the metal. While the high gold content of the staters in the Eastern Channel would have made them effective stores of material value, the same cannot be said of Western Channel staters, many of which were of debased silver and some of which contained little precious metal (South-West British staters for instance varied from 81.63% silver to 0.27%).⁴ In contrast, the silver units produced in the British Kingdoms and the Solent region were silver-rich. Many contained upwards of 70% silver and from the Augustan period, they were regularly over 90% pure: they had intrinsic value, yet they were rarely hoarded.⁵ While it could be argued that the Eastern Channel had a preference for gold over silver, this cannot be witnessed in other forms of material culture: the number of non-coin gold objects were rare in and out of hoards, with the hoard of torcs at Winchester forming one of the exceptions outside of a coin hoard.⁶ The importance of gold alone (if at all for the case of the Western Channel) cannot be seen as the sole reason to hoard staters. Additionally, there were a few instances where silver staters of the Eastern Channel appeared in hoards alongside gold staters and quarter staters.⁷ The metal differed, but the denomination was the same, so they were hoarded together. While the generally high gold content may have inspired trust in the stater as a denomination, in hoards there was no particular distinction between gold and silver, but rather the difference was between stater and non-stater coinage.

⁴ Northover (1992) 293, 295.

⁵ Northover (1992) 288-290; Bean (2000) 86.

⁶ Lewuillon (1999) 365, fig 3; Hill, Spence, La Niece, Worrell (2004).

⁷ Amby, Birch.

6.1.2: The Extent of the Divide

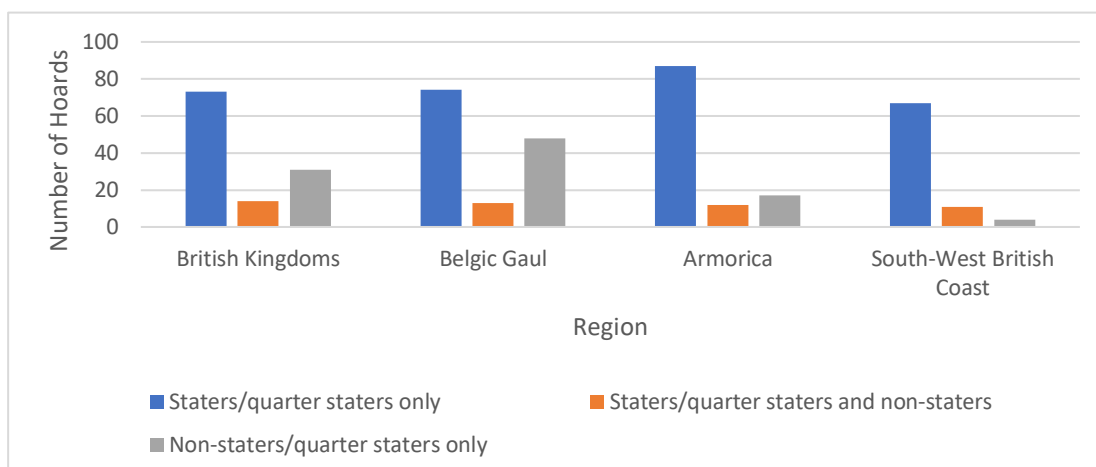
Staters and non-staters rarely appeared alongside one another in hoards (Tables 6.1-2, Graph 6.1). While the lack of such mixed hoards in the Western Channel could be linked to the limited production of non-staters on the South-West British Coast and their late production in Armorica, the same is not true of the Eastern Channel, where non-stater coins, despite the large number produced, were not as common in hoards.

| Hoard Composition | Armorica | | | | | South-West British Coast | | | | |
|---|-----------|----------|-----|-----|-------|--------------------------|----------|-----|-----|-------|
| | 200-61 BC | 60-20 BC | Aug | EJC | Total | 200-61 BC | 60-20 BC | Aug | EJC | Total |
| Staters/quarter staters only | 9 | 79 | - | - | 88 | 1 | 64 | - | 2 | 67 |
| Staters/quarter staters and non-staters | - | 9 | 3 | - | 12 | - | 7 | 2 | 2 | 11 |
| Non-staters only | 1 | 9 | 5 | 1 | 16 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 4 |

Table 6.1: Presence of stater and non-stater style coinage in hoards in the Western Channel.

| Hoard Composition | British Kingdoms | | | | | Belgic Gaul | | | | |
|---|------------------|----------|-----|-----|-------|-------------|----------|-----|-----|-------|
| | 200-61 BC | 60-20 BC | Aug | EJC | Total | 200-61 BC | 60-20 BC | Aug | EJC | Total |
| Staters/quarter staters only | 7 | 44 | 10 | 12 | 73 | 20 | 54 | - | - | 74 |
| Staters/quarter staters and non-staters | - | 3 | 1 | 10 | 14 | 2 | 7 | 3 | 1 | 13 |
| Non-staters only | 24 | 4 | | 3 | 31 | 3 | 29 | 9 | 7 | 48 |

Table 6.2: Presence of stater and non-stater style coinage in hoards in the Eastern Channel.



Graph 6.1: Presence of stater and non-stater style coinage in hoards in the region under study.

The hoards of non-stater coins in the Eastern Channel occurred only under specific chronological conditions, relating either to the potin deposition allocated to 200-61 BC or the *quinarii* hoards of 60-20 BC (see Eastern Channel chapter); in neither case was this part a long-term trend. Despite *quinarii* becoming the dominant coinage in Belgic Gaul after the Gallic Wars, the number of *quinarii* hoards never exceeded the number of hoards that contained staters and quarter staters, and their distribution was isolated to the south of Belgic Gaul (5.7.3). The *quinarii* and Roman coins were not later substitutes for the staters but represented a different monetary system. Potins and *quinarii* were hoarded in response to specific regional and chronological triggers, whereas the stater hoards represent more individualised deposits that occurred throughout the period under study. Only in Gaul from the Augustan period were stater hoards at a minimum, as it was here that staters were no longer produced. The Romans prevented their manufacture, either actively through preventing local authorities striking high value denominations or by changing the way Iron Age societies worked to such a point that staters were no longer deemed acceptable currency. In either case, the changing approach to the stater was driven by external forces rather than internal developments in how coinage was perceived.

When the coinage changed to struck silver and bronze with classical iconography in Belgic Gaul, the British Kingdoms responded by releasing their own struck silver units and bronze units, also bearing classical designs and legends (5.7.3). However, while these non-stater coins were hoarded in Belgic Gaul, they were rarely hoarded in the British Kingdoms. Britain was willing to copy the style of the coins, but not their hoarding. Part of this has to do with availability: the minting authorities produced less silver units than gold and bronze coins.⁸ However, single finds of coins in the British Kingdoms indicate that there were half as many silver units as staters, so while less numerous than the staters their numbers were still relatively high.⁹ Yet silver units remained rare in hoards: as a point of comparison, only one of the British king Cunobelin's silver units/minims was present in hoards compared to 69 of his gold staters.¹⁰ Availability, then, was not the only cause for the avoidance of silver units in most hoards.

⁸ de Jersey (2001) 33.

⁹ Fanello (2016) 59, table 3.3.

¹⁰ Staters: Borden, Chawton, Colchester I & III, Epping Upland, Great Waltham, Marks Tey II, Selsey, Weeley, Westerham III. Staters and silver units: Ardleigh.

This preference for staters and the neglect of other coins with high levels of precious metal in hoards suggests that the region under study placed great value on the coin's shape and design, sometimes over its materials. The earliest Gallic coins were made of purer gold, suggesting at first the metal was valuable, but the coinage increasingly became more debased, yet more widespread, and other precious metal objects, such as torcs, faded from use.¹¹ This is most evident in the Western Channel, where the coins were of low intrinsic value, yet they were hoarded in vast numbers; the stater denomination mattered more than their intrinsic value. The movement towards selecting the highest denomination, even if they were not necessarily of highest intrinsic value, suggests that the arrival of coinage transformed how these societies perceived value. This would suggest that Iron Age coinage had become a standard of value; one of the definitions of money, and I suspect that this was a major role of the staters.

6.2: Explanations for Stater Dominance

The stater and to some extent the quarter stater were valued in hoards above other coins. Indeed, this was a common pattern for early coin use in the ancient world: in archaic Greece the majority of hoards also contained only large, heavy staters.¹² In this section, I discuss three key features that Iron Age staters had that encouraged their deposition over other denominations:

- Staters and quarter staters often appeared on sites with large numbers of other non-stater coins. However, the number of these coins on a site was always few. This perhaps relates to the scale of stater use; only a few would be used at a time, which meant that the majority of coins would not be regularly needed, and thus could be stored for later use.
- The conservatism of staters and quarter staters, particularly related to their iconography, and how this encouraged their long-term use.
- The little evidence to justify the idea that hoards were primarily designed as ritual deposits.

¹¹ Cowell (1992) 217, table 2; Leins & Farley (2015) 110.

¹² Kim (2001) 12.

6.2.1: The Function of Staters and Quarter Staters

The role of Iron Age coin remains under great debate, and I do not intend to provide a definitive answer to their function whilst there is still a lack of categorical information on how late Iron Age societies operated in general. However, my study of hoards suggests that the use of staters in hoards was predominantly motivated by their use as a form of long-term wealth storage, and I shall demonstrate that this seems to be related to the scale of stater use on sites.¹³

The only reference to coin use in the region under study was a brief remark by Caesar to the Britons using gold or bronze “*pro nummo*”.¹⁴ This can mean “for coins” or “for money”, so it is unclear if this quote referred directly to monetary usage.¹⁵ Caesar also described the British use of iron bars in the same manner, and scholars have linked this reference to finds of sword or plough shaped ingots, although this remains under debate.¹⁶ These objects do not appear in any of the hoards in my study, so whatever their function, they seem unrelated to coinage. Aside from the mention of currency bars, Caesar did not mention anything notable concerning the British use of coins, despite in the same section going into extravagant detail concerning unusual (i.e. non-Roman) British eating practices and their approach to monogamy.¹⁷ If there was something strange concerning how they used coins, it is surprising that Caesar did not mention it, as it would serve to further identify the Britons as barbarians: a common trope used by classical sources to present the barbarian as an “other” to the refined Greeks and Romans.¹⁸ This suggests that the Iron Age role of coins was similar to the Roman approach, i.e. as a method of exchange. Elsewhere, Iron Age coinage may have different roles: beyond the region under study, Strabo described a chieftain in southern Gaul scattering gold and silver coins for his followers.¹⁹ This has been linked to the use of coins in gift exchange, but Strabo’s focus was on the Gallic south, which

¹³ Haselgrove (1979) 202; Nick (2007) 179.

¹⁴ Caesar, *Gallic Wars*, 5.12.

¹⁵ Caesar, *Gallic Wars*, 5.12 (Hammond and Raaflaub uses both words).

¹⁶ Caesar, *Gallic Wars*, 5.12; Hingley (2005).

¹⁷ Caesar, *Gallic Wars*, 5.12, 5.14.

¹⁸ Almagor (2005) 50.

¹⁹ Strabo, *Geography*, 4.2.3.

may not be comparable to the situation in northern Gaul and Britain, particularly as the style of coinage differed.²⁰

With a lack of clarity in the textual evidence, the function of Iron Age coins remains under scholarly contention. To compensate for a lack of textual and often archaeological evidence, attempts to solve the debate often turn to anthropology. Polanyi's work is influential in this debate (2.1.3). He identified two forms of money: general-purpose money, predominantly found in the modern industrial world, performing all the functions of modern-day money (a medium of exchange, a medium of payment, a measure of value, a unit of calculation and a store of wealth) and special-purpose money, ascribed to pre-industrial societies, performing only some or one of these functions.²¹ The concept of general-purpose money has been criticised: even modern money is limited in its functions and has social connotations regarding its use.²² Broadly, general-purpose money is often perceived as a means of exchange in an economic sense, whereas special-purpose money is used for exchanges that have political or social connotations, which vary between individuals of different social standing.²³

The debate ranges over which of these categories is appropriate for Iron Age coins. Pre-1970s scholarship assumed the coins had a general-purpose monetary role, so there was little debate regarding their function. A similar view is still maintained by a number of scholars, citing the choice of having specific weight and metal standards as similar to Roman coins, which are usually assumed to have an exchange role.²⁴ However, most later scholars believe Iron Age coinage served a role limited to only a few spheres (i.e. special purpose money), such as to serve in elite gift exchange or as gifts to deities.²⁵ Some scholars attribute different metals to different roles, with gold and sometimes silver believed to have been used in socio-political payments such as mercenaries and gift-exchange, whereas bronze was perhaps designed for the exchange of goods or as means of

²⁰ Nash (1978).

²¹ Polanyi (1957a) 166, 169.

²² Zelizer (2011) 89; Dodd (2014) 286.

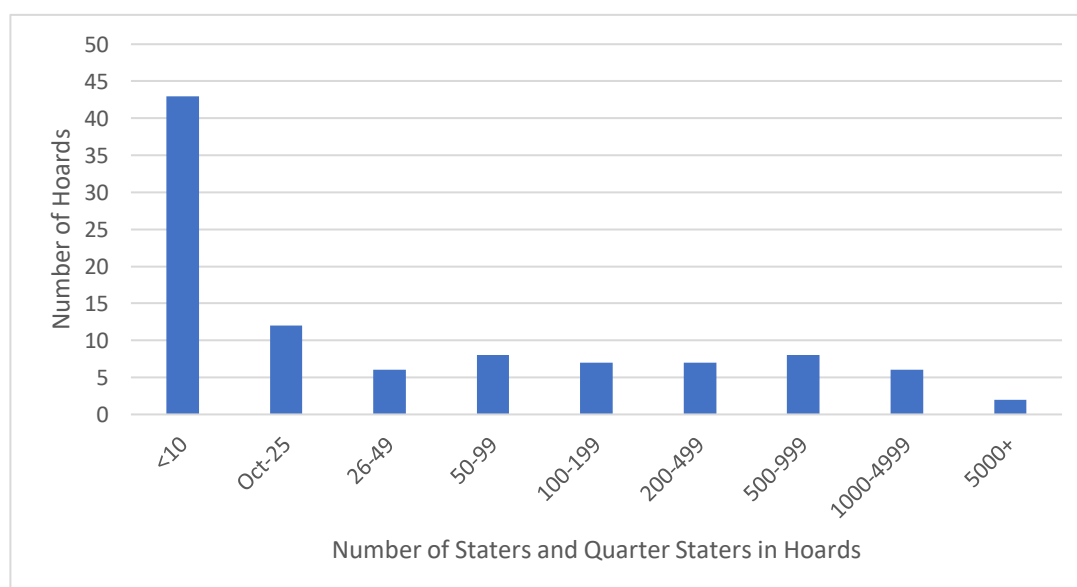
²³ Dodd (2014) 283.

²⁴ Van Arsdell (1992) 140; Talbot (2017) 146.

²⁵ E.g. Collis (1971) 76; Fitzpatrick (1992) 16; Haselgrove (1995) 124.

establishing political dominance by elites.²⁶ There are even suggestions that staters had no monetary role at all, and served purely as political or social symbols.²⁷

An analysis of the region under study provides some clarity. Archaeology presents a mixed picture regarding the function of staters and quarter staters. Throughout the region under study, these denominations rarely appeared in double digits on sanctuary or settlement sites.²⁸ In contrast, many hoards in the dataset were in the tens and the hundreds (Graphs 6.2-5). Although site finds would seem to indicate that they were primarily used in small numbers, the large hoards indicate that there was a purpose to owning many examples or that large hoards were owned by multiple individuals rather than one. All regions had hoards of considerable size, so this is a universal feature related to the use of the stater denomination.

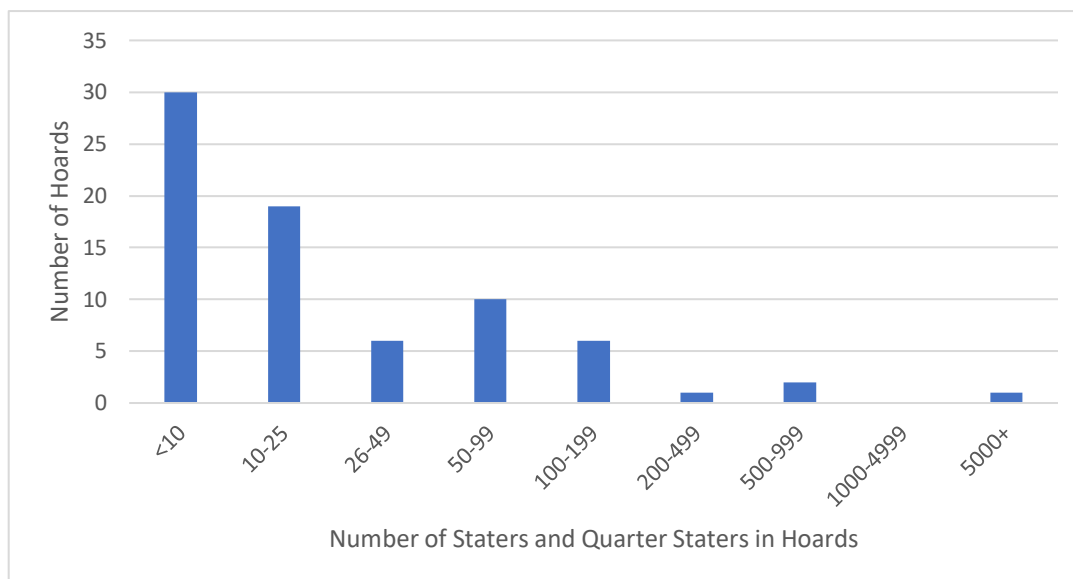


Graph 6.2: Number of staters and quarter staters in hoards in Armorica, across all periods. Does not include hoards of unknown numbers.

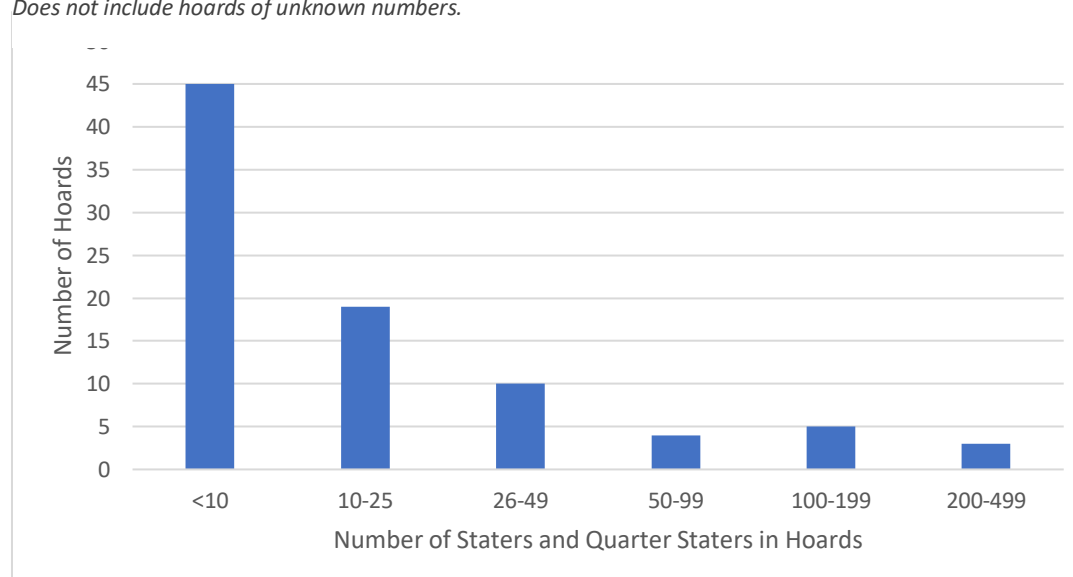
²⁶ Nick (2006) 258; Wigg-Wolf (2011) 303; (2018) 139; Pion (2012) 160.

²⁷ Hill (2007) 25.

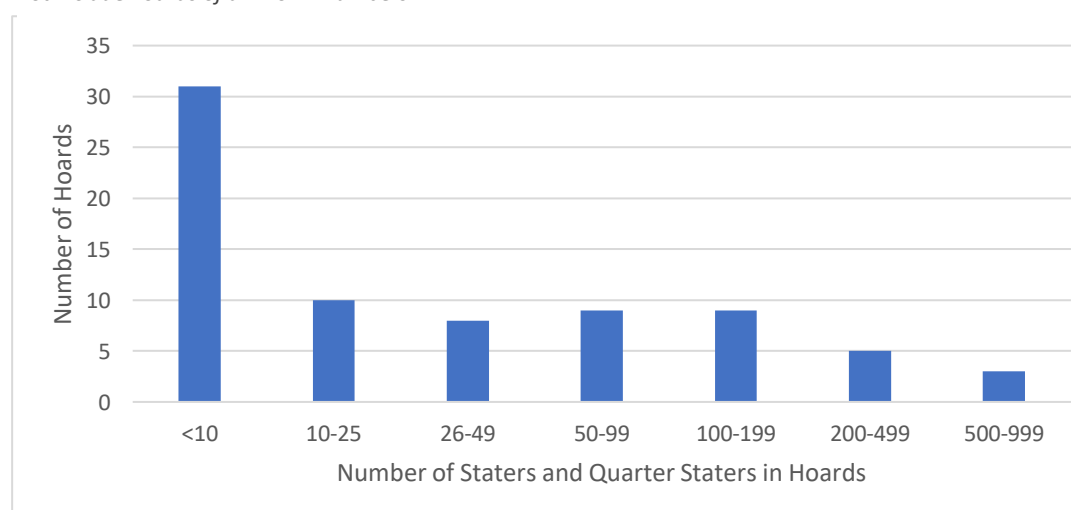
²⁸ Haselgrove & Mays (2000) 249, fig 125; Holman (2005c) 49, appendix 1; Gruel & Pion (2009) 392.



Graph 6.3: Number of staters and quarter staters in hoards on the South-West British Coast, across all periods. Does not include hoards of unknown numbers.



Graph 6.4: Number of staters and quarter staters in hoards in the British Kingdoms, across all periods. Does not include hoards of unknown numbers.



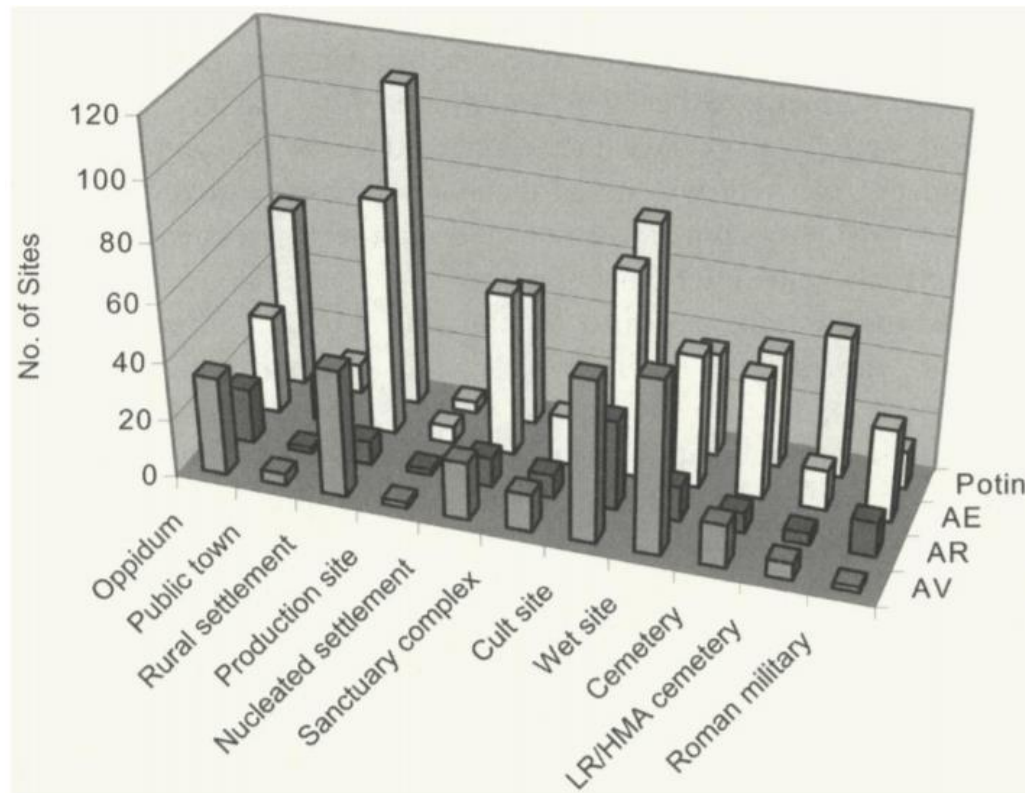
Graph 6.5: Number of staters and quarter staters in hoards in Belgic Gaul, across all periods. Does not include hoards of unknown numbers.

The large hoards, however, may overshadow the majority of hoards in the region under study. It can easily be believed for those aware of the Jersey hoards that the Western Channel stater and quarter stater hoards (Graphs 6.2-3) tended to be larger than those in the Eastern Channel (Graphs 6.4-5). Several Western Channel hoards contained above 100 and 500 coins, and a few immense hoards with over 1000 coins existed. This divide may not have been so clear-cut: the Ledringhem hoard in the Eastern Channel is estimated (though unconfirmed) to have contained 30,000-50,000 staters, although overall the mainstay of larger hoards appeared in the Western Channel. However, despite the existence of these large hoards, the vast majority of hoards in both the Eastern and Western Channel have ten or fewer examples. It is possible that greater efforts were made in recovering the large hoards, hence less hoards of this size appear in the archaeological record, but if individuals were willing to go to the trouble to deposit a few coins, then it is probable that they would have made an effort to retrieve them. Hoards without containers can often be scattered, preventing full knowledge of their contents, but even if one were to accept that some hoards may have contained more, now lost, examples, the general picture is that the Iron Age hoards were on the whole small.²⁹ Western Channel deposits *can* be larger than hoards in the Eastern Channel, but in the majority of cases they were of a similar size, and the number of hoards above 100 coins was small on both sides, east and west, of the Channel. Coin hoarding tended to be a small-scale affair, regardless of the level of debasement of the staters, indicated by the large number of hoards in the Western Channel with less than ten coins.

It is doubtful that the hoards of over a hundred coins, and particularly those over a thousand, would have been deposited by an individual. Multiple people may have been involved in depositing these larger hoards, even if they did not own the wealth themselves. Several possibilities exist for the large Iron Age hoards: the hoards were owned by a particularly wealthy individual who received help in their deposition, the hoards were communal deposits with each depositor providing their own additions, or all the coins were owned by a community, rather than individuals. Given that the majority of hoards were small, the community explanation is best applied to many of the larger hoards, as owning hundreds of stater examples was rare. The Laniscat hoard in Armorica of 547 staters and quarter staters was found within a large enclosure, and it is tempting to think that this

²⁹ The Birch hoard is an example of a possible scattered hoard.

represents the wealth of the community who lived there. However, the majority of hoards do not fall into this category. The small numbers of coins deposited in most hoards represent what may have been available to individuals and small communities of lesser means. If there was a ritual nature to the deposit, it would have been a more personal affair, rather than one of grand spectacle.



Graph 6.6: Breakdown of archaeological sites yielding Belgic coinage by metal (Haselgrove (2005) 148, fig 4).

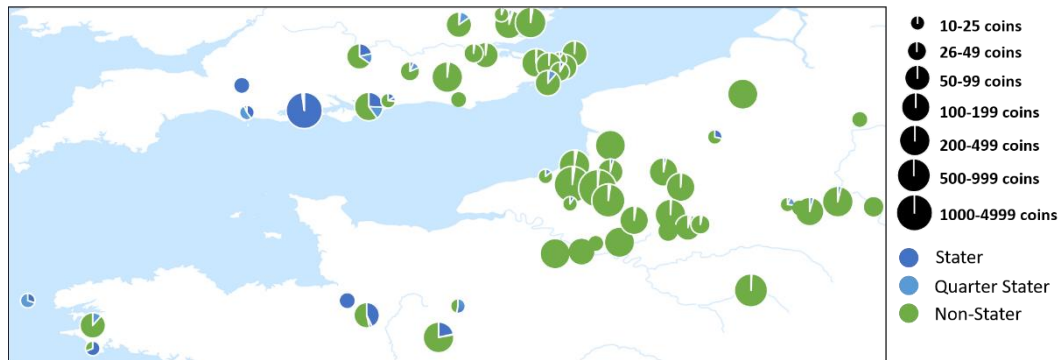
The small size of hoards may relate to the small number of site finds of staters (Graph 6.6). However, despite only appearing in small numbers, staters are often present on most sites with large Iron Age coin assemblages (Map 6.1, graphs that are not entirely green had staters on site). In Holman's study of nine East Kent sites, on each site there were never more than ten staters and/or quarter staters.³⁰ However, despite the variation between the sites, which included a sanctuary, a possible hillfort and a coastal settlement, at least one example of a stater and/or quarter stater appeared on every site.³¹ Likewise, auxiliary forts in Belgic Gaul and the *oppida* of Titelberg and Martberg had large coin assemblages, and within them, a few staters.³² Again, the numbers of staters and quarter staters were usually

³⁰ Holman (2005c) 49, appendix 1.

³¹ Holman (2005c) 49, appendix 1.

³² Delestrée, Boisard & Boulenger (2006) 10, table IV; Delestrée & Boisard (2010) 24, table IV; Wigg-Wolf (2018) 142, table 1.

less than ten, but they *were* present. Staters may have been rare on sites, but their common presence on sites with large Iron Age coin assemblages indicates that despite their small number, they still served an important part of coin use on sites that used a large number of coins.



Map 6.1: Presence of staters and Iron Age non-staters on Iron Age and early Gallo-Roman sites (Wheeler & Richardson (1957); Haselgrove & Mays (2000); Holman (2005c); Wellington (2005a); Fanello (2016)).

The appearance of staters on settlement sites where Iron Age bronze is found in large quantities would seem to suggest that staters were utilised in exchange. Monetary exchange has been perceived as a doubtful scenario for Iron Age societies, which appear to have been primarily subsistence based and relatively decentralised, with there being little opportunity for a market-based economy to appear.³³ However, it is difficult to ignore the large numbers of coins (50 >) that appear at a number of Iron Age settlement sites (Map 6.1). Coinage elsewhere in the ancient world is often found in large quantities close to market locations.³⁴ That the Iron Age gold coins are often found at the same locations as large numbers of bronze coins would seem to suggest that they too served a similar role; in exchange.

Despite issues with the archaeology, the low number of gold coins on site may have been a historical reality. The rarity of gold coins on sites also occurred in the Roman world, yet these low numbers may be due to issues with the recovery of coins.³⁵ Transactions using gold coins may have been rare, and if they were dropped there would have been greater attempts to recover the gold coins than was perhaps the case for a lowly bronze, hence the chances of them surviving in the archaeological record are low. However, this factor does not seem to impact the archaeology, as can be observed by examining a site with an

³³ Hodder (1979) 192; Hill (2012) 245; Sillitoe (2012) 161.

³⁴ Kleiner (1975).

³⁵ Butcher (2018) 170.

archaeological record less afflicted by these problems: the preserved site of Pompeii. The coins were buried with the inhabitants, hence one can see a coin assemblage of a Roman town that is less at the mercy of accidental loss and failed recovery.³⁶ Even in this situation, gold made up only 2-3% of the local finds.³⁷ The low number of gold coins on other sites may therefore have been a historical reality. The lack of gold coin discoveries on Iron Age sites parallels that of the Roman world, therefore the role of Iron Age coinage may not have been so different to that of the Romans.

Staters and quarter staters served at least some role on settlement sites, yet I would argue that the large number of stater hoards and relative scarcity of non-stater hoards suggests that the scale and regularity of stater use was limited. It is doubtful that the highest denomination was regularly used in large numbers at a single time. It therefore was logical for the owners of these coins to preserve them in preparation for their use: their use was so rare that they did not need to be close to hand. Larger hoards were deposited, but they are representative more that coin hoards could serve as communal deposits rather than a sign that staters were occasionally used at scale. However, it is possible that some of the large hoards were earmarked for major payments, and it is here where their use in the payment of mercenaries, tribal gifts, or dowries, contexts often attributed to staters, may be prevalent, but this was not the norm.³⁸

6.2.2: The Importance of Iconographic Conservatism

In contrast to the non-stater coins, staters and quarter staters were conservative in their iconography. Despite four centuries of development from the original Philip II prototype, the head/wreath obverse and the horse/horse rider reverse appeared on almost every stater in the region under study in some form. This contrasted with the designs that appeared on non-stater silver and bronze coinage, which show a huge variety of types. Conservatism was an inherent part of the staters and was at least a partial cause in their extensive coin hoarding. Conservatism inspired trust that led depositors to believe that their staters would enjoy long term use, so they could be hoarded for the future.

³⁶ Andreau (2008) 210.

³⁷ Depeyrot (2016) 77.

³⁸ Haselgrove (1993) 60; Nick (2006) 258; Wigg-Wolf (2011) 306; (2018) 139; Leins (2012) 201-202.

Coin iconography in other cultures, and possibly among some Iron Age communities, was used as a mark of guarantee by the state, which inspired trust in the coinage.³⁹ Due to the nature of Iron Age society, it would have been beneficial to have a fixed image rather than a great variety. Iron Age communities were dispersed geographically and different households under the same political authority may have had entirely separate values as a result and may not have kept up with political changes.⁴⁰ As a result, an ever-changing iconography would not have inspired the same level of recognition and thus trust as a single well-known image. A comparable example is the owl coinage of Athens: it became so widely known it was used across the Mediterranean, to such an extent that communities outside of Athens struck coins imitating the Athenian design to inspire trust in its users.⁴¹

Even during later periods in the British Kingdoms, when gold stater imagery seems to have changed dramatically, in most cases there were attempts to retain the wreath and horse image. On almost every gold coin reverse in the British Kingdoms, a horse is present.⁴² On the inscribed coins of the eastern kingdom, the wreath is also maintained on most of the staters, although often only in component form, with some of its expressions more obvious than others (Figs 6.1-3, wreath components indicated by arrows).⁴³ The coins harken back to the tradition of the Philip II stater, maintaining elements of the three-hundred-year-old design. Cunobelin's later staters (Fig 6.3) represents the culmination of this process; whilst depicting a corn ear, the image is not unlike a wreath, and represents a rationalisation and reorientation of the original design.⁴⁴ Cunobelin thus maintained the traditional elements of his coin, whilst creating a new iconographic pattern.

³⁹ Mooring, Van Leeuwen & Van der Spek (2018) 144.

⁴⁰ Hill (2012) 252.

⁴¹ Buxton (2009) 2.

⁴² The only exceptions are a few rare gold quarter staters. Aside from ABC 1076, the rest bear a four-legged animal not dissimilar to a horse: ABC 1079, 1148, 1151.

⁴³ Addeddomaros' coins tended to feature floral designs instead of the wreath. Allen (1975) 1.

⁴⁴ Allen (1975) 2.



Fig 6.1: Addedomaros, gold stater, ABC 2517, c. 45-25? BC, 5.39g, 17.7mm, die axis not recorded. Obv. Three back-to-back crescents within spiral. Rev. Horse r., pellets in front and above. Courtesy of the Portable Antiquities Scheme, ESS-BB170B.



Fig 6.2: Cunobelin, gold stater, Camulodonum, ABC 2771, AD c. 10-40?, 5.49g, 17.2mm, die axis not recorded. Obv. CAMVL in tablet on vertical wreath, heart shapes and bucrania in angles. Rev. Two horses running, l., wheel and CVNO below. Courtesy of the Portable Antiquities Scheme, ESS-DBFF1.



Fig 6.3: Cunobelin, gold stater, Camulodonum, ABC 2798, AD c. 10-40?, 5.43g, 17.2mm, 6 o'clock. Obv. Corn ear with central stalk, CA l., MV r. Rev. Horse rearing r., leaf above, CVNO below. Courtesy of the Portable Antiquities Scheme, SF-4BB714.

In the southern kingdom, after the first inscribed coins of Commios, the wreath fell out of favour, and was replaced by an inscription within a panel. The panel was present on most staters from this point forward in this southern region, and the horse continued to appear, in many cases with a rider (Figs 6.4-5). The coinage of the southern kingdom may have replaced the wreath but ultimately a new gold stater tradition was created, ensuring the iconography of the stater remained a conservative image.



Fig 6.4: Tincomarus, gold stater, ABC 1055, c. 25 BC- AD 10?, 5.4g, 17.9mm, die axis not recorded. Obv. TINC in tablet. Rev. Horsemen r., holding spear in r. hand, C below. Courtesy of the Portable Antiquities Scheme, BERK-D72C35.



Fig 6.5: Verica, gold stater, ABC 1190, AD c. 10-40?, 5.23g, 15.5mm, 3 o'clock. Obv. COM·F, in tablet. Rev. Horseman r., holding spear in r. hand, VIR above, REX below. Courtesy of the Portable Antiquities Scheme, HAMP-43502B.

A number of gold stater types in Belgic Gaul also did not have a wreath, and these were mostly produced from 60 BC, similar to the coins of the British Kingdoms that broke from the wreath tradition. Once again, the two sides of the Channel aligned in the development of the coin, and the changes coincided with Roman intervention, suggesting the change in traditional iconography was driven by external forces rather than an internal transition in the coinage. Among these coins from Belgic Gaul, the wreath is replaced with other images (Fig 6.6) or in the case of the Gallo-Belgic E coins (Fig 6.7) an obverse completely or almost completely bare.⁴⁵ Similar to the eastern Kingdom, in many of these cases aspects of the wreath image remained, such as the “eye lids” on the Treviri eye stater (Fig 6.6). Nevertheless, a close depiction of the wreath was not always considered a priority by at

⁴⁵ DT 235-242, Sch 29-31.

least some of the coin striking communities of Belgic Gaul, but similar to the British Kingdoms, the horse appeared on every gold stater, and was integral to the denomination.



Fig 6.6: Pottina, Treviri?, gold stater, DT 600, c. 60-50? BC, 5.9g, diameter and die axis not recorded. Obv. Eye, r., with pupil in the form of eight spoked wheel, three stars above, three stars r. Rev. Horse l., triangle above, star r., star and [PO]TTINA below. www.icollector.com/CELTIC-COINS-BELGIUM-TREVIRI-Stater-base-gold-Pottina-about-1st-c-B-C-AV-5-90-g-Eye-r-w_i8744811, accessed 27.08.2018.



Fig 6.7: Gallo-Belgic E gold stater, ABC 16, c. 60-50? BC, 6g, 18mm, die axis not recorded. Obv. Plain. Rev. Horse r., pellets above and below. Courtesy of the Portable Antiquities Scheme, BH-5D9AF3.

The staters in every region in the Eastern Channel, the Western Channel and indeed the rest of Britain had this horse-stater convention, so this iconographic tradition was tied into the coins' acceptance in Iron Age society throughout the region under study. The horse itself was a symbol of prestige, as owning a horse was a sign of notable wealth, and it also gave actual physical power: Gallic cavalry were employed throughout the Mediterranean as skilled horsemen, so the horse riders were, or were perceived as, some of the strongest warriors in Iron Age society.⁴⁶ It is little wonder then that this image of power and prestige was expected to be present on an object functioning in the same manner. This also occurs in *Magna Graecia*, with the first coins in southern Italy showing objects representative of wealth, such as barley, cows and tripods, and the horse seems to be the Iron Age equivalent.⁴⁷ A number of non-stater coins in the Eastern Channel bear horses and/or

⁴⁶ Polybius, *Histories*, 3.113; Creighton (2000) 22; Caesar also spoke well of British charioteers (Caesar, *Gallic Wars*, 4.33).

⁴⁷ Papadopoulos (2002) 38.

wreaths, but these are among a huge variety of images used on the designs.⁴⁸ In other words non-stater coins *can* have a wreath and horse, whereas staters *must* have a horse and either a wreath on the obverse or a particular design related to the local area. The only exception is the blank Gallo-Belgic E obverses, but these have their own important role (6.4.2).

The alignment of iconography allowed early staters to circulate with later issues. Gallo-Belgic coins appeared in 21 hoards in the British Kingdoms alongside the British coins produced after the Gallic Wars, and 11 hoards contained Gallo-Belgic staters and more regional gold staters in Belgic Gaul (the smaller number due to stater production ceasing early in Belgic Gaul).⁴⁹ The staters and quarter staters of the Eastern Channel were thus compatible with staters produced before and after their production. Not only would their gold content allow for their use in the distant future, but their conservative iconography would ensure that they remained recognisable. Even if the authorities behind the staters fell, it could be assumed that their replacements would produce gold staters sharing similar standardised features, reinforcing the belief that contemporary staters would maintain their use in the future. They could therefore be relied upon as a long-term store of wealth.

Within Armorica, there were 32 hoards that contained coins produced by different Armorican authorities, all sharing the same human-headed horse image.⁵⁰ The designs showed slight variation dependent on the region of production, usually depicting a different style of head on the obverse or a different entity above or below the horse on the reverse, such as a boar or winged figures (Figs 6.8-9). Nevertheless, the main image of the human-headed horse remained the same, demonstrating that conservatism was an

⁴⁸ Only seven of Cunobelin's 56 silver and bronze unit types bear a horse that, similar to his stater horse, is not ridden or winged (ABC 2831, 2837, 2873, 2885, 2936, 2945, 2975).

⁴⁹ **British Kingdoms:** 60-20 BC: Birch, Clacton I & II, Colchester (east of) I, Farnham (Surrey), Great Bromley, Great Dunmow/Great Waltham, Haselmere, Layer Breton, Little Bromley, Marks Tey I, Westergate, Westerham I. Augustan: Alfriston, Birling, Frinsted, Sarre. Julio-Claudian: Bognor, Colchester (east of) II, Selsey, Stoke. **Belgic Gaul:** 200-61 BC: Bollezele, Paris (Puteaux). 60-20 BC: Aubigny-en-Artois, Aumale, Crochte, Frasnes-lez-Buissenal, Labuissière I, Ledringhem, Reims et Châlons-sur-Marne, Saint Venant, Sangatte.

⁵⁰ Amanlis, Avranches, Carantec, le Câtillon I & II, Corseul III, Denée, Hardanges. Huelgoat, Lanvéneq, La Marquanderie, Maroué, Mellac, Montanel, Mordelles, la Noë-Blanche, Pengilly, Pipriac, Piolaine, Pleneuf-Val-André, Plonéour-Lanvern II, Saint-Briac-sur-Mer, Saint-Gouëno, Saint Helier II, Saint-Pierre-de-Plesguen, Scrignac, Sens-de-Bretagne, Tonquédec, Trinity I, II & III, Vieux-Vy-sur-Couesnon.

important aspect of the coins. The South-West British coins retained the same wreath and horse iconography from their inception.⁵¹ On both sides of the Western Channel, even though the coins were debased to such an extent that the colour changed, the iconography remained consistent. This appears to have been used to inspire trust in an issue that might otherwise be deemed valueless based on its metal content. It would also suggest to the user that these coins were intended to be used in the same way as their predecessors, despite the change in metal.



Fig 6.8: Veneti?, gold stater, DT 2115-2119, c. 2nd century BC?, 5.87g, 21mm, 12 o'clock. Obv. Head r., horse above, pellet chains around. Rev. Human-headed horse r., man and standard? above, winged figure below. Courtesy of the Portable Antiquities Scheme, IOW-E01586



Fig 6.9: Coriosolitae, billon stater, class III, DT 2339, c. 60-50? BC, diameter and die axis not recorded. Obv. Head r., S in hair. Rev. Human-headed horse r., whorl above, boar below. NumisBids, <https://www.numisbids.com/n.php?p=lot&sid=720&lot=18>, accessed 30.09.2019.

There were deviations to the iconography of the stater, but they still had to fit the basic obverse and reverse designs of the local area, whether they were the horse and wreath (South-West British Coast, eastern kingdom, Belgic Gaul), the head and human-headed horse (Armorica) or the panel and horse (southern kingdom). While the horse provided a general acceptable image, the obverse design was intended to provide a stable regional

⁵¹ ABC 2154-2175.

image. This seems to have had implications related to the distribution of types in hoards (6.4).

The conservative approach to iconography was not necessary for non-stater coins. These coins were expected to be used regularly, demonstrated by their high incidence on sites.⁵² Therefore, hoarding the coins for long term use would have been inconvenient: if they were needed regularly, one would have had to constantly rebury and recover the hoard. As these coins were not expected to function as long-term wealth, they could have more diverse iconography. Additionally, these coins were much more regional in use than the staters: for instance, the silver and bronze units of Cunobelin from the British Kingdoms had three separate regional groupings, with different types and images appearing in these areas.⁵³ In the west of his territory, the coins included the name of the previous king, Tasciovanos, as the legend. In Kent the coin images were often similar to other Kentish coins produced by previous rulers.⁵⁴ This differs from his gold staters, which vary little in their iconography and travelled great distances.⁵⁵ Silver units and bronze units seem to have been designed for extremely localised use, whereas staters circulated over wider distances. This more concentrated use meant that the iconography did not have to be recognised by more widespread, disparate communities.

It is even possible that the manufacturer differed between staters and non-staters. Morris and de Jersey suggested that the difference in Cunobelin's non-stater coin types was caused by different members of Cunobelin's administration, such as client kings, producing different types, or by Cunobelin's administration designing iconography specifically for audiences in different regional contexts.⁵⁶ However, Talbot's belief that merchants commissioned Iron Age coins may be more relevant here.⁵⁷ The varied iconography on non-staters and the different distribution patterns to the staters suggests that they were

⁵² Holman (2005c) 44-50, appendix 1; Delestrée, Boisard & Boulenger (2006) 17; Delestrée & Boisard (2010) 30.

⁵³ de Jersey (2001); Morris (2013).

⁵⁴ Morris (2013) 38, 41.

⁵⁵ Allen (1975) 5.

⁵⁶ de Jersey (2001) 32; Morris (2013) 63.

⁵⁷ Talbot (2017) 148.

intended for immediate use and the regionalisation of the coins implies that they were struck by different individuals.

The diverse imagery perhaps relates to this range of individuals who struck the coins, explaining why it is difficult to identify anything approximating a unified political representation strategy through Iron Age coin iconography. For instance, the only coin of Cunobelin to bear the legend REX is a bronze unit.⁵⁸ No other of Cunobelin's coins bear any title, yet there is nothing else unusual about the REX coin, as its subject matter of the head and bull is seen on other coins produced in Cunobelin's name.⁵⁹ Rather than, as Creighton suggests, it simply being an underwhelming political experiment, perhaps the producer of this coin was inspired by Roman legends with their titles, and sought an appropriate Latin title for his homage to Cunobelin, yet no other coin producer believed it worthwhile.⁶⁰ The few provenanced types are found in the west of the coin distribution of the eastern kingdom, where a number of other coin types showing a range of classical iconography appears.⁶¹ This possibly reflects a region experimenting with a number of classical designs but ultimately one without a clear focus. There was no apparent widespread goal for the iconography aside from it imitating the coinage of Belgic Gaul (5.7.3), which seemed to be of paramount importance.

A number of scenarios can be envisaged in the British Kingdoms. Staters and quarter staters may have been produced under the king's authority, whereas the non-stater coins were produced either by traders and/or other individuals of influence, who struck the coins with the name of the king as a sign of homage. This could be specific to Cunobelin's coins or could be part of a wider pattern. Alternatively, the coins were produced by the same authority, but the staters and non-stater coins were viewed as so drastically different in their function that they required different minting strategies. Either scenario points to the distinction between staters and non-staters from the outset of minting; the minters either encouraged the different manners in which these coins were used through these minting strategies, or the mints were responding to the different ways the population already used

⁵⁸ ABC 2966.

⁵⁹ Other Cunobelin bull types: ABC 2942, 2948, 2972.

⁶⁰ Creighton (2000) 170.

⁶¹ Morris (2013) 39.

these coins. Neither can be easily determined, but this concept impacts current theories: Creighton's theory of British kings growing up in Rome as *obsides* and returning to Britain with Roman ideas of artistic expression is irrelevant, if the coins inspired by classical types were not produced by kings.⁶² If the staters were related to the kings and the non-stater coins were produced by other authorities, this may have further enhanced the stater's appeal in hoards, as the coins were related to a higher authority and thus perhaps were seen as more trustworthy or legitimate. This should not be generalised across the region under study, however, as there is no clear indication of kings in the Western Channel, yet staters maintained their importance.

6.2.3: The Quarter Stater Connection

The distinction between staters and quarter staters that occurred in the Iron Age can be recognised in hoards. Most staters had a corresponding quarter stater, which shared the same iconography and approximate metal composition at the time of minting.⁶³ However, they differed in diameter and weight, so a gold stater was theoretically four times the value of a gold quarter stater. This connection led the quarter staters to appear in hoards more often than non-stater coins (Graph 6.7), and within these hoards they were more regularly hoarded alongside staters. The existence of Iron Age quarter staters harkens back to the early beginnings of coinage in Greece, when large staters were accompanied by smaller fractions.⁶⁴ Philip II also produced gold quarter staters and this was the probable inspiration for the first Gallic quarter staters.⁶⁵ The earlier Greek staters dominated many of the hoards from their regions, yet the fractions were less commonly hoarded, and it is suggested that the smaller size of the quarter staters was designed to facilitate their use in domestic markets.⁶⁶ Iron Age quarter staters also rarely formed the majority of the hoards (Table 6.3), though unlike the Greek coins, they appear in comparable numbers to staters

⁶² Creighton (2000) 89.

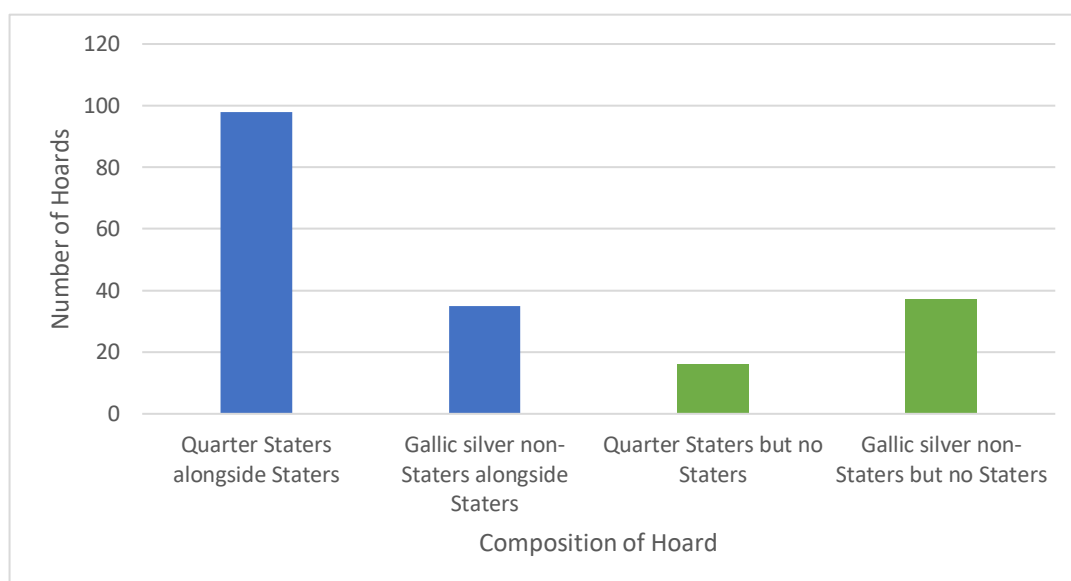
⁶³ Northover (1992) 281-288, table 1.

⁶⁴ Kim (2001) 12.

⁶⁵ E.g. SNG ANS 218-227, 235-237.

⁶⁶ Kim (2001) 12.

on settlement sites.⁶⁷ Considering the place of quarter staters within Iron Age hoards can therefore provide a wider understanding of their use.



Graph 6.7: Comparison of the number of Eastern Channel hoards in which quarter staters and non-stater coins were present.

| Region | Period | Number and percentage of hoards where Staters formed majority | Number and percentage of hoards where Quarter Staters formed majority | Number and percentage of hoards where Staters and Quarter Staters formed were equal |
|--------------------------|-----------|--|--|--|
| British Kingdoms | 200-61 BC | 6/86% | 0/0% | 1/14% |
| | 60-20 BC | 31/66% | 13/28% | 3/6% |
| | Augustan | 11/100% | 0/0% | 0/0% |
| | EJC | 14/64% | 6/27% | 2/9% |
| Belgic Gaul | 200-61 BC | 15/68% | 6/27% | 1/5% |
| | 60-20 BC | 53/94% | 3/6% | 0/0% |
| | Augustan | 3/100% | 0/0% | 0/0% |
| | EJC | 1/100% | 0/0% | 0/0% |
| Armorica | 200-61 BC | 8/100% | 0/0% | 0/0% |
| | 60-20 BC | 59/89% | 6/9% | 1/2% |
| | Augustan | 2/66% | 1/33% | 0/0% |
| | EJC | 0/0% | 0/0% | 0/0% |
| South-West British Coast | 200-61 BC | 1/100% | 0/0% | 0/0% |
| | 60-20 BC | 66/94% | 3/4% | 1/2% |
| | Augustan | 2/100% | 0/0% | 0/0% |
| | EJC | 3/75% | 1/25% | 0/0% |

Table 6.3: Comparison of the number of hoards where staters or quarter staters formed the majority of the contents.

⁶⁷ Holman (2005c) 49, appendix 1.

Times of crisis, such as the Eastern Channel in 60-20 BC and the Early Julio-Claudian period, were periods in which the norms of hoarding broke down, and it is within these periods that non-stater coins make appearances in hoards (Table 6.3). However, even in these circumstances, the preference remained on the larger stater. The low number of quarter staters in hoards also relates to their accessibility. While the earlier staters were produced alongside an equal number of quarter staters, over time the number of staters considerably outnumbered the quarter staters (Table 6.4). This would explain why quarter staters were more commonly hoarded in earlier periods, such as in Belgic Gaul in the 200-61 BC period. (Table 6.3). Quarter staters were never seen as useful as the staters, yet despite this, their production, while low, continued until the end of Iron Age coinage. This is similar to the production of *quinarii* in the Roman world, which were never produced at the same scale as the *denarii*, yet they were regularly struck in small quantities.⁶⁸

| Series | Approximate period | Number of Obverse dies | Number of Reverse dies |
|-------------------------------|--------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| Gallo-Belgic A stater | c. 175-125 BC | 48 | 57 |
| Gallo-Belgic A quarter stater | c. 175-125 BC | 42 | 38 |
| Gallo-Belgic C stater | c. 125-60 BC | 97 | 131 |
| Gallo-Belgic C quarter stater | c. 125-60 BC | 33 | 36 |

Table 6.4: Number of dies of the Gallo-Belgic A and C series (Sills (2003) 130, fig 29, 143, fig 35, 230-231, fig 77, 247, fig 82, 251, fig 85, 258, fig 89, 263, fig 92).

I would argue that the staters and quarter staters had a similar role, hence the same iconography and metal, but the production of more staters led to a form of inflation, as it became easier to access the higher value coin and thus there was less need for the quarter stater. This can be seen in the Western Channel, where quarter staters were particularly rare. Prior to the discovery of the Câtillon II hoard, only 40 confirmed examples of the debased Coriosolitae quarter staters existed, despite thousands of recorded staters.⁶⁹ The debased nature of the Western Channel coins meant that quarter staters were even less useful as a store of wealth. The staters had declined in intrinsic value to such an extent that the need for an even lower value coin was not necessary. The more limited use of the quarter staters appears to have resulted in the denomination only rarely being hoarded, as staters were much more versatile in their potential future use.

⁶⁸ Wolters (2012) 336.

⁶⁹ de Jersey (2017c); (per. comm).

6.2.4: Summary

Aspects of the stater (and to some extent the quarter stater, though significantly less so) seem to have made the denomination suitable for the act of hoarding. The preference for stater hoarding may be in part due to the unfamiliarity of the new silver and bronze unit coinage, as these had only been introduced in the aftermath of the invasion.⁷⁰ However, this did not seem to impact *quinarii* deposition in Gaul, so the regular deposition of staters seems linked to common features of the denomination. The rigid adherence to the same image ensured the coin's acceptability, and thus long-term use.⁷¹ As such, these coins could be trusted as long-term store of wealth, hence they were favoured in hoards. Hoards containing non-staters and quarter staters in the region under study tended to appear only during in periods of crisis, yet staters dominated the hoards even within these periods and remained the most accepted form of hoarding.

6.3: The Role of Hoards

Iron Age coin hoarding was often tied to a specific denomination, so our conception of the role of hoards manipulates our understanding of the role of staters. Identifying the purpose of hoards is vital for identifying the role of staters in Iron Age society, but unfortunately this has great difficulties. Throughout his "Interpreting Roman Hoards" paper, a frustrated Reece describes the unknowable motivations of depositors and the limited ability of most archaeological contexts to provide an understanding of the depositors' aims.⁷² A hoard intended for non-recovery may look the same as a storage hoard and a hoard deposited to hide wealth from Caesar would look similar to a hoard designed to hide wealth before a raid on a neighbour's cattle.

However, this has not stopped interpretations. Early scholarship linked Iron Age coin hoards to conflict, from Roman invasions to local scuffles.⁷³ In recent times, there has been a focus on the non-economic, ritual aspects of hoards, encouraged by prehistoric archaeology (2.1.3). The term ritual is often used to denote symbolic yet rational actions to

⁷⁰ Haselgrove (1993) 35, table 1.

⁷¹ Talbot (2017) 147.

⁷² Reece (1988).

⁷³ Primarily Colbert de Beaulieu (1973); Scheers (1977).

communicate an individual's or group's status within society or the wider universe.⁷⁴ This may appear as (but are not limited to) hoards deposited as votive offerings or as part of a cultural festival or ceremony, such as one associated with gift exchange.⁷⁵ The objects may not be offerings per se, and a possible example is that Iron Age individuals may have perceived a link between burying objects in a specific patch of ground and good fortune.⁷⁶ One should be wary of assuming that rituals were irrational or distinct from non-ritual activities: anthropology has determined that rituals are often perceived as rational decisions and, in some cases, enacting a ritual was not particularly different from any other action one might take to effect a change in one's environment.⁷⁷ Indeed, some Iron Age numismatists are reluctant to divide hoards into 'ritual' and 'economic', as a hoard buried for economic purposes may have been placed under the protection of a deity.⁷⁸ However, other Iron Age numismatists are less cautious and have suggested that Iron Age coins served only or predominantly a votive role.⁷⁹

I believe that the emphasis on the ritual nature of hoards, while relevant, has been too prominent in the course of Iron Age coin studies. I believe that economic concerns were the prime motivator behind the majority of hoards in this dataset, and while other aspects of Iron Age culture could have been tied into their deposition, such as asking the gods for protection over the hoard, this would have been of only secondary relevance. I intend to demonstrate that Iron Age coin hoards deposited with the intention of non-recovery for a ritual purpose were a rarity. More commonly, hoards were buried either as stores of wealth, with the intention of recovery, or were deposited due to economic, political or social circumstances, which drove the coinage involved from circulation.

This section establishes the problems of conceptualising Iron Age hoards through a ritual lens. Identifying ritual aspects in other parts of archaeology is often done on the basis of archaeological context, but this is missing for many of the hoards.⁸⁰ As a result, the interpretation of a hoard as associated with ritual is often based on the contents of the

⁷⁴ Brück (1999) 314.

⁷⁵ Aarts & Roymans (2009) 11.

⁷⁶ Brück (1999) 318.

⁷⁷ Brück (1999) 327; Bell (2009) 72.

⁷⁸ Haselgrove (2005) 131; (2015) 27; de Jersey (2014) 47.

⁷⁹ Wellington (2005a) 303.

⁸⁰ E.g. Hill (1995) 125.

hoard, and it is these interpretations that I wish to critique. I do not contest that some hoards may have been deposited with the intention of non-recovery for a ritual purpose, as there is evidence for this among a number of hoards in my dataset. However, I do not find it helpful that these outliers are given primary focus in the discussion of hoards.

6.3.1: Generalisations Based on Limited Evidence

It must be recognised that a single explanation of why coins were deposited cannot be applied to all hoards, particularly when there is little information regarding hoard contexts. Gruel and Pion's comparison of coin hoards by region in Gaul presents this problem. Gruel and Pion suggested that hoards that contained a single metal or series (the most common type of hoard throughout Gaul) had a ritual function.⁸¹ This has been concluded on the grounds that composite hoards (those containing multiple denominations/series and possibly objects) were often later (i.e. post 60 BC) than mono-metallic hoards, and thus were more related to a Roman monetary system than an Iron Age socio-political system, which might have used coinage differently.⁸² Additionally, composite hoards reflected the coins in economic circulation, in contrast to the mono-metallic hoards that often contained choice pieces that were hoarded shortly after their production, suggesting the latter were not used for a monetary role.⁸³

There is some logic to Gruel and Pion's assertion, as non-stater denominations were rarely present in hoards, even though some of them are of precious metal. However, I have suggested an economic reason for why this might be the case, and why staters were regularly used (if not designed) as a form of wealth storage (6.2), which would explain why staters were deposited shortly after their production. Therefore, the contents of hoards only containing a particular denomination of coin is not strong enough grounds to apply a ritual explanation. I would argue the opposite; Hill has shown that Iron Age individuals utilised all manner of objects in structured depositions, including bone, pottery and small objects.⁸⁴ Iron Age supernatural entities then did not necessarily distinguish objects in terms of their material value, hence a greater variety of coins could be used for a ritual

⁸¹ Gruel & Pion (2009) 389.

⁸² Gruel & Pion (2009) 388-389.

⁸³ Gruel & Pion (2009) 388-389.

⁸⁴ Hill (1995) 113.

hoard than for a hoard designed for material exchange, where knowing the value of the objects stored for trade was important.

Another generalisation is that hoards deposited near sites were not storage hoards as they could easily be located by those wishing to steal the hoard.⁸⁵ However, there were benefits to the close proximity of a storage hoard to a site, as it allowed the owner to keep watch on the hoard's location. Additionally, locating hoards close to settlements was not always so easy: Samuel Pepys struggled to find the hoard buried by his family in his own back garden, and he was aware of its existence.⁸⁶ Those trying to locate and steal the hoard would thus find it difficult even if it was close to a settlement. Recently excavated hoards more often have their immediate contexts examined, and this has led to signs of nearby settlement activity, so depositing hoards close to settlements may have been more common than our current data can reveal.⁸⁷ This suggests that owners desired to have their hoards closely available, which would not have been necessary if they did not intend to recover their hoard.

6.3.2: The Torc Connection

It has been suggested that Iron Age coins had social significance owing to their association with torcs (neck rings), which are believed to have had a prestige role in Iron Age society.⁸⁸ This view has been reinforced by the close proximity of coin hoards and torc hoards at the site of Snettisham in East Anglia.⁸⁹ The prestige role of torcs is witnessed in textual accounts of torcs worn around the necks of important leaders, in addition to creatures in Iron Age art that may have been deities wearing those objects.⁹⁰

Within hoards of the earliest Gallic coins, produced during the 3rd century BC, the torcs were often broken, and this has been related to the practice of killing the spirit that the

⁸⁵ Hurst & Leins (2013) 312.

⁸⁶ The Diary of Samuel Pepys, www.pepysdiary.com, accessed 30.09.2019, Thursday 10 October 1667.

⁸⁷ Le Câillon II & III, Thuin I, II & III.

⁸⁸ Fitzpatrick (2005) 158; Wellington (2005a) 133; Pion (2012) 159.

⁸⁹ Hutcheson (2004) 92.

⁹⁰ Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, 62.2 (described as a gold necklace, but likely refers to a torc); Livy, *History of Rome*, 7.10; Rubin (1975) 137; Van Impe, Creemers, Van Laere, Scheers, Wouters & Ziegeus (2002) 82; Fitzpatrick (2005) 157; Pion (2012) 159; Roymans & Scheers (2012a) 17.

depositors perhaps believed existed within the torc.⁹¹ If there was a killing ritual, then one would expect that torcs and coins would receive a similar treatment, as they presumably were deposited alongside one another for the same purpose. However, hoarded coins rarely show fragmentation or marks that may indicate a destruction ritual.⁹² Indeed, intentional damage to Iron Age coins is unusual: as of 2005, less than 2% of British Iron Age coins were marked or broken, so the killing ritual might only rarely be applied to coins.⁹³ There are examples of cut marks on coins outside of Britain that may have been destruction rituals: on the Martberg religious site, the cuts appeared on the majority of the site's coins, some of which were cut in half, indicating they were not just test cuts.⁹⁴ Furthermore, the Upton hoard and Martberg coins had consistent cuts on a specific location of the coin (wreath and horse respectively), which target the important iconographical aspects of the coin (6.2.2), leading to suspicions that this would effectively have rendered the coin unusable.⁹⁵ However, outside of these examples, other test cuts could have been used to check the metal, so not all cuts can be associated with ritual activity. Additionally, In the region under study, the breaking of torcs was not a universal phenomenon: only six of the ten hoards with torcs were noted as containing broken examples.⁹⁶ Of these, the Câtillon I hoard was the only hoard that contained marked coins. Both complete (Câtillon II, Frasnés-lez-Buissenal) and fragmented (Brecht, Câtillon I, Thuin I, Westerham) torcs appeared in the hoards in my dataset. Even if a breaking ritual was an Iron Age tradition associated with metalwork, it was not uniformly applied to torcs nor the coins deposited alongside them.

A connection between torcs and coins may have existed, but not in the ways traditionally suggested. Pion suggests that torcs were associated with the pattern discussed in anthropology of the long-term cycle of exchange, associated with gifts to gods or gift exchange between elites.⁹⁷ In contrast, Pion considered Iron Age coins as part of short-term cycle of exchange, for short-term aims and war making.⁹⁸ Pion further distinguishes

⁹¹ Fitzpatrick (2005) 170, 173; Pion (2012) 159.

⁹² Pion (2012) 159.

⁹³ de Jersey (2005a) 85.

⁹⁴ Wigg-Wolf (2005) 373.

⁹⁵ de Jersey (2005a) 88; Wigg-Wolf (2005) 372.

⁹⁶ Broken Torcs: Beringen, Brecht, le Câtillon I & II, Thuin I, Westerham II. Complete or no record of broken: (le Câtillon II also has complete torcs) Frasnés-lez-Buissenal, La Marquanderie, Ribemont-sur-Ancre, Selsey.

⁹⁷ Bloch & Parry (1989) 2; Pion (2012) 160.

⁹⁸ Bloch & Parry (1989) 2; Pion (2012) 160.

between torcs and coins, calling the torcs “non-divisible”.⁹⁹ The reference relates to one’s inability to receive change from an exchange if one paid with a torc, whereas the staters had their appropriate quarter staters which served this function. However, the fragmented nature of the torcs show that they were divisible. In ancient Iberia, Asia Minor and Magna Graecia, as well as the Viking Age in Scandinavia, precious metal objects were broken down to create smaller units for the purpose of smaller transactions.¹⁰⁰ The breaking of Iron Age torcs may have served a similar purpose. Staters already had fractions (quarter staters), so there was no need to halve the coins. Therefore, the torcs seem to be aligned to the coins, as both have full pieces and fractions, and it seems more plausible that the breaking of torcs was based on material exchange, rather than a ritual act, at least in the context of these mixed hoards.

Within hoards that contained broken torcs, one would expect to be able to combine the fragments to form a complete torc if it was broken as part of the ritual associated with deposition, but this is rarely possible. The hoards in my dataset that contained fragments of torcs did not have enough fragments to rebuild a complete torc.¹⁰¹ Rather than the remnants of a torc broken prior to deposition, these fragments seem to have circulated as bullion before entering the hoards. Torcs may originally have served as jewellery but this changed over time: in the early Iron Age, 56.5% of torcs finds were associated with bracelets, but over time this declined to 26.5% in the Middle Iron Age and 20% by the Late Iron Age (the period under study).¹⁰² Lewuillon attributes this decline to a change in the function of the torcs; originally they were jewellery, hence their association with bracelets, but over time they were used as objects of material exchange.¹⁰³ The few recorded weights of torc fragments in my dataset are not dissimilar to the weights of at least some of the coins in the same hoard (Table 6.5). The weights were so similar that it seems that the gold torc fragments and gold staters were designed to circulate together.

⁹⁹ Pion (2012) 160.

¹⁰⁰ Gaimster (2007) 123; Kroll (2012) 37; Van Alfen, Amalgro-Gorbea & Ripollés (2012).

¹⁰¹ Beringen (has one complete torc in fragments but the two other torcs in the hoard do not have all their parts), Brech, le Câtillon I, Westerham II.

¹⁰² Lewuillon (1999) 364.

¹⁰³ Lewuillon (1999) 365.

| Hoard | Torc fragment(s) weight(s) | Coin weights |
|--------------|----------------------------|---|
| Beringen | 9.27g, 7.73g, 7.73g | 22 Rainbow staters – c. 7.6-7.9g 3 Gold crescent staters – c. 6.1-7.0g |
| Thuin I | 5.41g | 73 Nervi gold staters c. 5.7-6.1g |
| Westerham II | 5.3g | 12 Kent gold staters c. 5.0-5.6g 126 Kent c. 1.0-1.4g |

Table 6.5: Comparison of the weight of torc fragments and coins in hoards.

However, from the 2nd century BC, the proportion of hoards that contained both torcs and coins was minimal. This is part of a broader trend towards a lack of hoards that contained both coins and non-coin objects. Of the 451 coin hoards in the dataset, only 39 also contained objects that were not coins, and in only 26 of those cases was the object gold and/or silver.¹⁰⁴ Even if torcs had a votive significance, it is difficult to apply this role to the Iron Age coins in this study when their relationship was so rare. The limited connection between coins and precious non-coin objects further suggests that coinage had become established as a specific form of wealth, which suggests that they now had a distinct role from other objects.

The development from hoards of torcs and coins to hoards that predominantly contained only coins in Gaul may reflect a broader process in the development of hoarding. This process in certain cultures begins with hoards of uncoined metalwork, followed by hoards of broken metalwork and coins before the process ends almost entirely in coin hoards. This occurred amongst the Greek colonies of southern Italy, Asia Minor and Sicily.¹⁰⁵ Viking Age hoards in Scandinavia also demonstrated this pattern: silver hacksilber (cut-up silver object) hoards were common before they were replaced by coin hoards, with an interim period where both were hoarded.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ Gold and/or silver: Alton II, Beringen, Bradford Peverell, Brech, Carantec, le Câtillon I & II, Compton, Folkestone I, Fraire II, Frasnès-lez-Buissenal, Freshwater Bay, Ledringhem, la Marquanderie, Medway, Philippeville, le Plessis-Grimoult II, Plonéour-Lanvern II, Ribemont-sur-Ancre, Sark, Selsey, Shorwell, Thuin I, Tisbury, Upton, Westerham II. Non-precious metal: Brentford II, Donhead St Andrew, Èthe, Farnham (Dorset), Godshill, Peissant, le Plessis-Grimoult I, Plusquellec-en-Callac, Putney, Rochester, Saint-Jean-Trolimon, Sunbury-on-Thames, Trinity III.

¹⁰⁵ Kroll (2012) 37.

¹⁰⁶ Gaimster (2011) 124; Graham-Campbell (2011) 218-219.

This transition reflects broad patterns rather than the existence of clear divisions between these developments. Nevertheless, these changes indicate a common pattern of development towards a more monetised economy: the fragmented objects represented a need for smaller and larger units that coins would eventually satisfy.¹⁰⁷ Were this pattern to be applied to Iron Age Gaul, this fragmented object and coin hoard period had already occurred in the 3rd century BC, where early Philip II imitation coins were deposited alongside broken torcs.¹⁰⁸ By the 2nd century BC, most coin hoards in northern Gaul consisted of only coins, suggesting that coinage had become the standard of value by this period.¹⁰⁹ There were exceptions, such as the Aire-de-la-Lys hoard, which contained chopped up pieces of metalwork alongside the coins, but they were the rare remnants of the previous mixed system.¹¹⁰ Rather than coins and non-coin objects circulating in different spheres, it seems that the previous value system of torcs was superseded by bullion and then by coins, perhaps because the latter were easier to produce and did not require breaking. In any case, any association of coins with torcs lends itself more to an economic explanation rather than a ritual argument.

6.3.3: Sanctuary Site Finds

There is certainly evidence that Iron Age coins served a ritual role in sanctuary contexts. From the 2nd century BC in Belgic Gaul, in the Picardie and Nord *départements*, weapon deposits were increasingly replaced at sanctuary sites by coins and brooches.¹¹¹ The groups of hoards around Snettisham, East Anglia, and the enclosure at Hallaton, Leicestershire, have been linked to a ritual function.¹¹² In the British Kingdoms, the Hayling Island sanctuary site contained an unusually large proportion of plated coins, suggesting that they served as substitutes for offerings of non-plated coins.¹¹³

¹⁰⁷ Hårdh (1996) 104-107; Lewuillon (1999) 377; Gaimster (2011) 123.

¹⁰⁸ Wellington (2005a) 133; Pion (2012).

¹⁰⁹ Of the 68 hoards of 200-61 BC, the Beringen, Brentford II, Ribemont-sur-Ancre and Rochester hoards were the only examples where non-coin objects can be confidentially associated with a coin hoard.

¹¹⁰ Delmaire, Lorient & Nony (1983) 59, no.2. I have not included the hoard in my dataset as the *terminus post quem* of the hoard cannot be determined.

¹¹¹ Wellington (2005a) 243; Nick (2017a) 38.

¹¹² Score (2011) 154-155; Talbot (2017) 147.

¹¹³ Briggs, Haselgrove & King (1992) 2.

There is thus good evidence for a ritual role of coins at sanctuaries. However, the coin finds at sanctuary sites differ greatly to those found in hoards, so the evidence available may not be generalisable to coin use outside of these sites. There tends to be a large number of non-stater silver and bronze coins on sanctuary sites, and also a high incidence of non-local coins.¹¹⁴ This contrasts with the majority of the hoards in the dataset: staters dominated the hoards and non-local coins (with the exception of the ubiquitous Gallo-Belgic issues in Britain, which in some cases were insular productions) were rarely hoarded (6.4).

Indeed, the few coin hoards found on sanctuary sites contrast with the wider hoarding patterns. The Blicquy, Digeon and Ognon sanctuary site hoards in Belgic Gaul contained potins, which were otherwise rarely hoarded in the region (Table 6.6). Stater hoards did appear on sanctuary sites, but they were the least common hoards on site (Bois l'Abbé), outnumbered by quarter staters (Digeon) or may have been the accidental loss of a purse rather than an intentional deposit (Ribemont-sur-Ancre); features that go against the norm of the majority of the hoards in the dataset. The Mordelles hoard is the only hoard on a sanctuary that contained a large number of staters. It is the only example of a hoard at a sanctuary site in Armorica, a region where non-stater coins were rare, so naturally at Armorican sites with coins staters outnumber the non-stater coins. Any theories crafted through sanctuary site data cannot be generalised to the hoards outside of these sites, as the deposits were so different.

| Site | Staters | Quarter staters | Iron Age Struck non-stater silver | Iron Age Struck non-stater bronze | Potins |
|-------------------------|---------|-----------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------|
| Blicquy | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 10 |
| Bois l'Abbé (16 hoards) | 25 | 0 | 143 | 142 | 0 |
| Chilly | 0 | 0 | 0 | 120 | 1 |
| Digeon | 1 | 28 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Mordelles | 18 | 5 | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Ognon | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 7 |
| Ribemont-sur-Ancre | 5 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

Table 6.6: Composition of hoards on sanctuary sites/fana.

Furthermore, not all coinage on sanctuary sites may have served a ritual purpose. There is evidence that coin production occurred on some sanctuaries; coin moulds were found at Villeneuve-Saint-Germain and a number of struck bronzes found at Bois l'Abbé are rarely

¹¹⁴ Delestrée (2005) 330.

found elsewhere, and may have been produced on site.¹¹⁵ While it has been suggested that these sanctuary mints were designed to produce coins specifically for deposition, another equally valid interpretation is that sanctuaries served as places of material exchange and thus produced coins to encourage and increase the efficiency of these exchanges.¹¹⁶ Sanctuaries would have been places where communities would come together; a perfect place to carry out transactions. Additionally, it is difficult to understand why a sanctuary would need to produce coins specifically for a ritual function; not all sanctuaries contained coins, so there seems to have been no universal need for coins in rituals.¹¹⁷ Though a coin may have been found in a supposedly religious site does not mean that it served a ritual function.

6.3.4: Summary

The ritual explanation for Iron Age coins has received great prominence, particularly due to the close connections of coins in some contexts with watery locations and sanctuaries.¹¹⁸ However, while ritual activity may have played a role in the deposition of hoards, there is rarely the evidence to identify that it was a motivator in the deposition of hoards. One exception is the Paris (Charenton) hoard, which presents such features; it was dredged from the river Seine, it consisted unusually of quarter staters, and over 90% of the coins were marked by a chisel. The relationship with water, which may have had religious significance in the Iron Age, the damaging of coins and the substitution of lower value coins all suggest that this hoard had a ritual function.¹¹⁹ However, such clear features remain rare in Iron Age coin hoards.

The interpretation of the role of hoards thus remains difficult. I do not believe that ritual was the driving factor in the majority of hoards, as in most cases economic concerns appear prominent. In this sense, most hoards appear to have been intended for the role of wealth storage, for the reasons outlined above (6.2). Such hoards may have been placed near landmarks or used natural features such as rocks to identify their location so that the hoards could be recovered. The ritual explanation for hoards has been applied too liberally

¹¹⁵ Delestrée (1984a) 258; (2005) 332; Debord (1993) 82; Wellington (2005a) 320.

¹¹⁶ Delestrée (1984a) 258; (2005) 332; Van Heesch (2005) 247.

¹¹⁷ Haselgrove & Webley (2016) 94, 108.

¹¹⁸ Nick (2017a) 36.

¹¹⁹ Aldhouse-Green (1986) 126; Wigg-Wolf (2005) 375.

in the past and more restraint is needed. Aitchison and Sauer have both remarked that the economic role of Roman coinage is often exaggerated and that Roman coins extensively served as votive offerings.¹²⁰ Most would consider Roman coin hoards to predominantly be hoarded based on economic concerns, so Iron Age coinage having a ritual role does not necessarily exclude Iron Age coin hoards from having an economic purpose.

6.4: Distribution Patterns

This section considers how communities interacted with foreign staters that were not local to the area. It will be seen that staters rarely were hoarded at great distances away from their centre of production; perhaps the users of these coins were conditioned to use staters with iconographic patterns familiar to them. This has implications when understanding the role of staters, as they do not seem to have regularly travelled between communities who had different coins. There were, however, exceptions and these are examined in detail.

Scholars have suggested that staters and quarter staters had a role in long-distance gift exchange, possibly related to the formation of political alliances or clientage.¹²¹ However, the extent of this long-distance connection is difficult to judge. Nick identified die-links between the 2nd and early 1st centuries BC Iron Age coinage of lower Germany and these die-linked coins were distributed across Germany.¹²² However, no such die study has been undertaken for the coinage of northern Gaul, because of the greater volume of coins, and thus the long distance role of staters cannot be generalised to the region under study.¹²³ This section considers the role “foreign” coins took in each of the particular regions through examining the presence of local and foreign coins in hoards.

In the region under study, clusters of coins have been used to attribute coins to a certain tribe, in addition to identifying tribal borders (2.1.4). This theory has been criticised for assuming that there were rigid borders that coins rarely crossed.¹²⁴ It also assumes that individuals and communities had an attachment to the coinage of the area, and thus would

¹²⁰ Aitchison (1988) 279; Sauer (2005) 111.

¹²¹ Sills (2003) 340; Morris (2010) 13; Leins (2012) 202.

¹²² Nick (2006) 91, Map 35.

¹²³ de Jersey (2009) 266.

¹²⁴ Leins (2012) 40.

identify and only use coins of the tribe that they considered themselves to be part of. The analysis I provide below demonstrates that coin hoards in close proximity tended to contain similar types and/or coins from the same region. The distribution of coinage may have no bearing on the socio-political identity of the inhabitants, but it does relate to the coinage styles that they found familiar and thus trusted. In some areas, foreign staters appeared in numbers enough to be hoarded, yet an effort was made to keep these foreign staters separate from local staters. These trends are examined in this section.

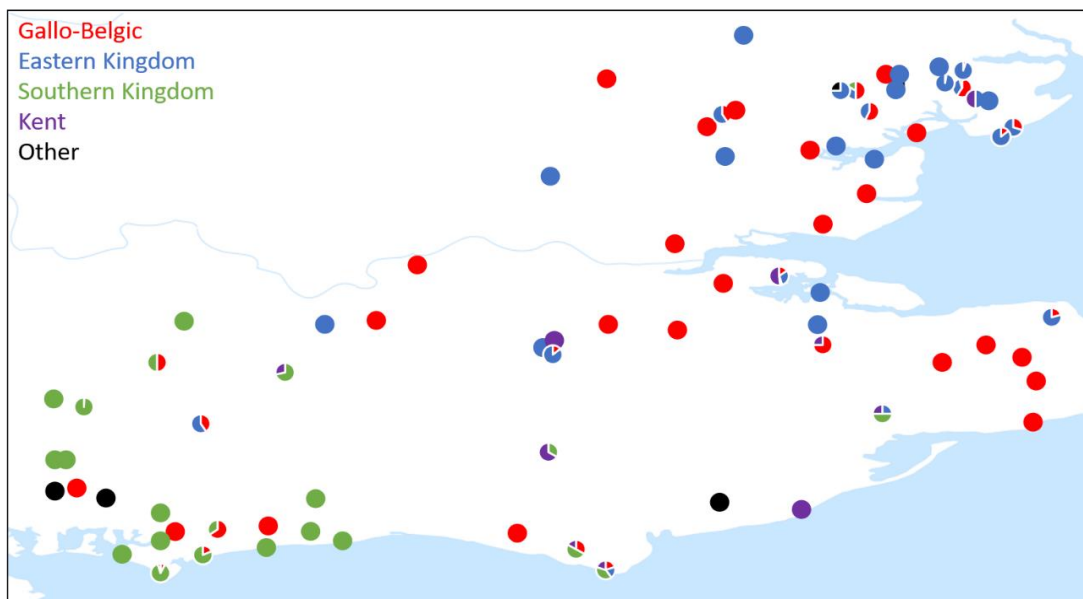
6.4.1: The Norm

In the Eastern Channel chapter, I identified distinct coin distributions related to the two kingdoms. The coinage produced in the eastern (represented in blue) and southern (represented in green) kingdoms were usually restricted to hoards in those areas (Map 6.2), and the Kentish coins (represented in purple) were in between. This matches single find distribution patterns, demonstrating that the British staters rarely travelled between the eastern and southern kingdoms.¹²⁵ Van Arsdell suggested that there were efforts to align the coinage of different regions in Britain by weight and metal content, but this does not seem to have encouraged their deposition together.¹²⁶ This could be the result of other, non-coin related factors, such as a lack of interaction between the two groups. However, aside from the coin evidence, there is little archaeological distinction between the two kingdoms, though this may relate more to the limits of Iron Age archaeology than of genuine similarities across the two groups.¹²⁷ In any sense, it cannot be identified whether coinage was part of a broader phenomenon of limited interaction.

¹²⁵ Leins (2012) 79-106, 124-144.

¹²⁶ Van Arsdell (1992) 145.

¹²⁷ Cunliffe (1971) 149.



Map 6.2: Distribution of hoards in the British Kingdoms by the origin of the staters and quarter staters, across all periods. Created by author using Antiquity À-la-carte. Graphs not to scale of the size of the hoards

The distinction may relate to how the coins were perceived. I have shown that the iconography of the staters was of importance, so the obverse of the eastern kingdom (wreath) and the southern kingdom (panel) may have been used to identify which coins were deemed acceptable by communities. The metal composition may also have been a factor, as the southern kingdom's staters tended to contain slightly more gold (c. 10%) than the eastern kingdom's staters, although it is doubtful that this difference would have been noticeable for most individuals, so it would only have been a contributing rather than the main factor.¹²⁸ Indeed, while there is some argument that additional copper was added to create a specifically red colour in the metal of the coins, the copper contents of the coins of the eastern and southern were comparable, leading to little difference in their colour.¹²⁹

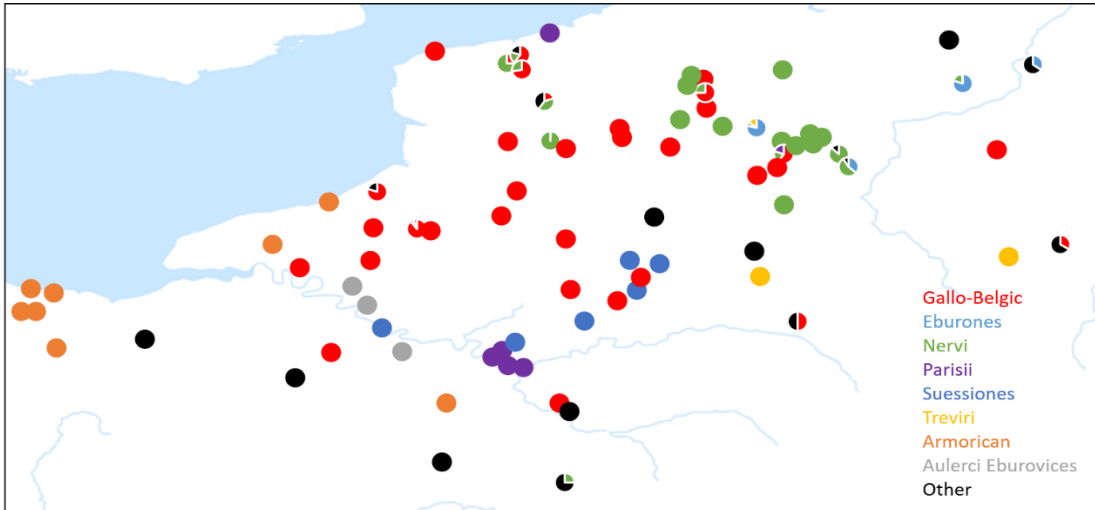
The hoards in Belgic Gaul also show these trends (Map 6.3). Coinage attributed to a certain tribe were tightly distributed and rarely appeared in hoards at great distance from their concentrations. For instance, the hoards consisting of Nervi staters in green were concentrated on the border of Belgium in the north, but Nervi coins never appeared in hoards further south. These broadly follow single find patterns, and the Nervi hoards followed a similar distribution to the single finds.¹³⁰ Gallo-Belgic coins defied these regional

¹²⁸ Cowell (1992) 224, fig 8, 231, fig 13; Northover (1992) 282-288.

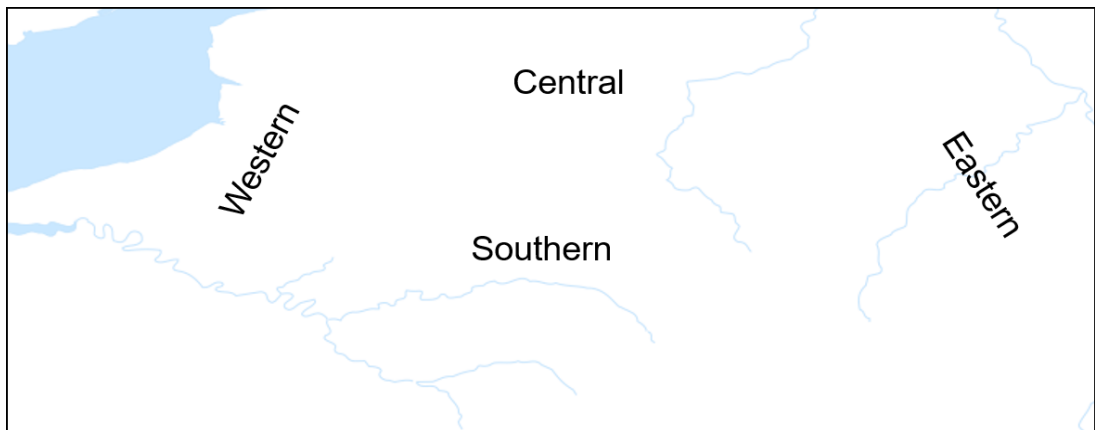
¹²⁹ Van Arsdell (1989b) 83.

¹³⁰ Roymans & Scheers (2012a) 14, fig 10.

trends and are discussed in detail below. The hoard evidence supports Haselgrove's four region model, with the hoards of Nervi coins appearing in the central region and Parisii coins appearing in the southern regions (Map 6.4).¹³¹ The western region likewise has a greater dominance of Gallo-Belgic coins, suggesting this was the place of their origin, whereas the eastern zone was much sparser.



Map 6.3: Distribution of hoards in Belgic Gaul by the origin of the staters and quarter staters, across all periods. Created by author using *Antiquity À-la-carte*. Graphs not to scale of the size of the hoards.

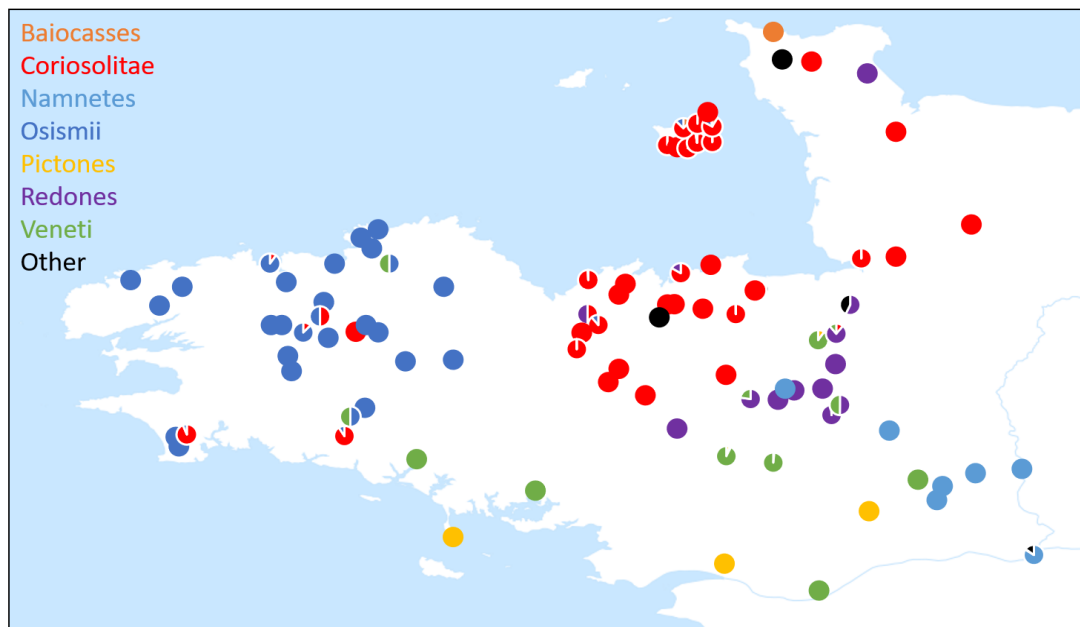


Map 6.4: The principal coinage zones of Belgic Gaul as suggested by Haselgrove (Haselgrove (2005) 117, fig 1). Created by author using *Antiquity À-la-carte*.

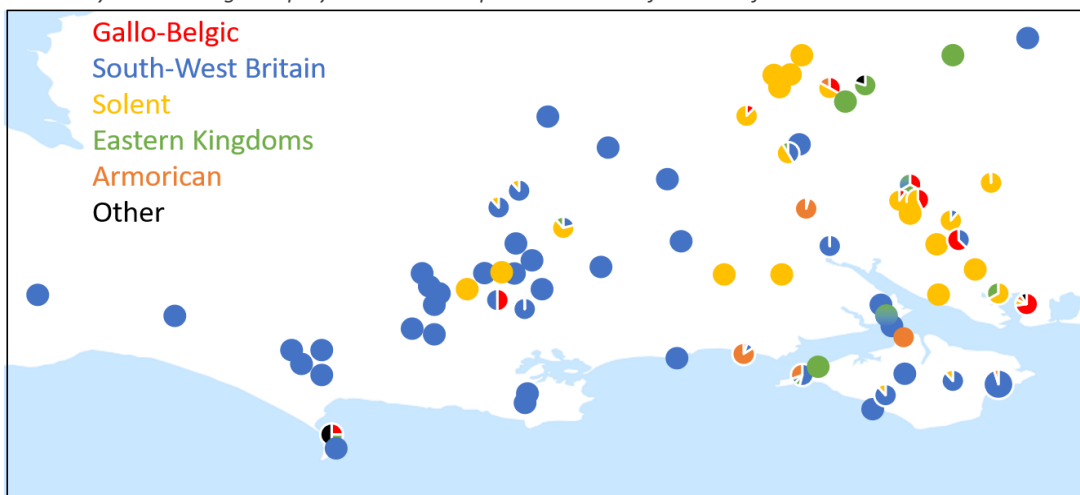
Despite sharing a similar obverse type, the Armorican hoards also showed regionalised groupings. The Osismii coins in hoards were concentrated in the west of Armorica, the Coriosolitae coins were concentrated just below Jersey, and the Namnetes, Redones and Veneti style coins were all hoarded in their own distinct areas (Map 6.5). However, there were parts of Armorica where hoards more regularly contained issues from different Armorican region. This is particularly evident in the western part of the region, amongst the concentration of Osismii hoards (in dark blue). On the eastern part of this concentration, a

¹³¹ Haselgrove (1999) 119-120.

few coins contained coins attributed to the Coriosolitae (in red) and Veneti (in green). Coins of these other tribes, however, did not penetrate further west, existing only in this border zone. In a similar circumstance to Kent, border regions occurred where the coins of two nearby communities were accepted. However, generally a clear distinction in coin types from different regions existed within the hoards. The same is true on the South-West British Coast, where there is little overlap in the distribution of hoards of Solent coins in the east and South-West British coins in the west (Map 6.6). The few overlaps tended to appear on the edge of the main distribution, representing borders where coins from different communities came into contact. In most cases, local coins represent the vast majority of the coins hoarded, so individuals would have become accustomed to seeing a certain image on their staters.



Map 6.5: Distribution of hoards in Armorica by the origin of the staters and quarter staters, across all periods. Created by author using Antiquity À-la-carte. Graphs not to scale of the size of the hoards.



Map 6.6: Distribution of hoards on the South-West British Coast by the origin of the staters and quarter staters, across all periods. Created by author using Antiquity À-la-carte. Graphs not to scale of the size of the hoards.

The use of local coins in depositions could have been one of accessibility, with the local coins in greater supply than non-local coins, but accessibility was not always the issue. Armorican coins were found in hoards of the South-West British Coast and Belgic Gaul. Despite the South-West British Coast acting as trading partner to Armorica, more coins were found in Belgic Gaul hoards (166 specimens), to the west of Calvados and thus far away from Armorica, than in hoards of the South West British Coast (78 specimens). It is even possible that a fifth hoard of Armorican coins existed in Belgic Gaul; the Pierrefitte-sur-Seine hoard contained eight examples of staters decorated with a hand under a human head, a description similar to the coins of Pictones, whose coins are found in central-western Gaul and southern Armorica.¹³² Despite the large number of hoarded coins in Belgic Gaul, the Armorican coins were more widely distributed in the South West British Coast, appearing in eight hoards (nine if the Baiocasses coin in the Bere Regis hoard is genuine) as opposed to Belgic Gaul's four (five if including Pierrefitte-sur-Seine).¹³³ Additionally, the hoards of the South-West British Coast contained British coins alongside the Armorican examples. In contrast, four of the five hoards in Belgic Gaul of Armorican issues only contained Armorican coins, with no local examples. The only exception was the Sangatte hoard, which may not have been a hoard at all, as the coins were scattered across the beach. Certain regions were willing to hoard non-local examples among their coins, whereas other regions were less willing. The separation of the Armorican issues in Belgic Gaul may be related to their debased nature and/or the peculiarities of their iconography. In either event, inhabitants in Belgic Gaul were unwilling to mix these coins with local examples, despite having access. The hoards that contained both Armorican and South-West British coins in hoards may relate to the shared circumstances on their hoarding (see Silver Corridor chapter).

This lack of willingness in Belgic Gaul to hoard non-regional coins may even have extended to coins from their opposite number across the Channel, the British Kingdoms. Gallo-Belgic coins were integrated into hoards in the British Kingdoms, but the hoards in Belgic Gaul did not include any coins from their cross-Channel neighbour, with the exception of two coins from hoards found at sanctuary sites, where coins from a variety of different regions tend

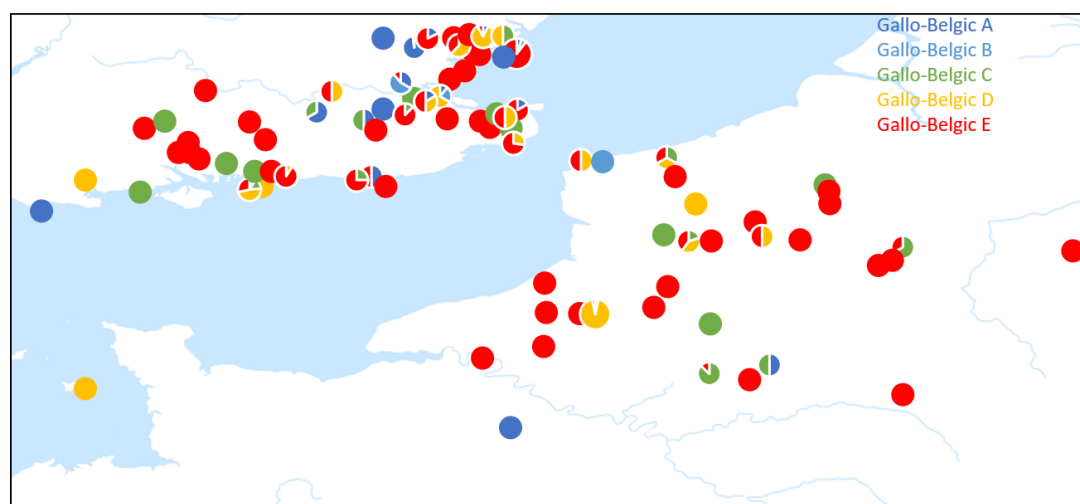
¹³² Pierrefitte-sur-Seine, DT 3645 comparison.

¹³³ South West Britain: Barton-on-Sea, Bembridge, Down Ground, Freshwater Bay, Gurnard Bay, Hurstbourne Tarrant, Mount Batten, Ringwood II (the Hengistbury Head hoard dated after AD 43 also contained Armorican coins). Belgic Gaul: Baons-Le-Comte, Belleville-sur-Mer, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine, Saint Arnoult, Sangatte.

to appear.¹³⁴ It is true that only 24 examples of coins from the British Kingdoms are known to have crossed the Channel, which would hardly seem a large enough number for their inclusion in hoards, but one must note that only 79 Armorican coins were known in Britain prior to the 20th century, yet they had been found in many hoards on the South-West British Coast.¹³⁵ Their exclusion may not just relate to availability but a general unwillingness to hoard non-local coins.

Throughout the region under study, the coin hoards tended to contain coins of the local area. Accessibility was a factor, but it must be considered as to why staters, particularly those of high value gold, did not travel beyond a certain point; one would think the inhabitants would have valued gold regardless of its source, but this is not the case. The deposition of staters was reliant on the conservatism of the staters: stater iconography in regions tended to stay the same, so a non-local stater would have been easily recognised. Such coins were perhaps less trusted and more likely to be rejected, as the recipient may have been unaware of its origin and thus unsure of its metal content. As a result, depositors could not rely on foreign staters to be a reliable form of wealth in the future, hence they were not included in hoards.

6.4.2: The Unusual Distribution of Gallo-Belgic E Staters



Map 6.7: Distribution of hoards that contained Gallo-Belgic coins. Created by author using Antiquity À-la-carte. Graphs not to scale of the size of the hoards.

The Gallo-Belgic series broke the above trend, particularly the Gallo-Belgic E staters. The coins appeared in hoards throughout Belgic Gaul, including along the border of Belgium in

¹³⁴ Bois l'Abbé, Chilly.

¹³⁵ de Jersey (1997) 96-101.

several hoards close to the Nervi hoards, but, unlike the plentiful Nervi hoards, the Gallo-Belgic E staters appeared in many hoards in the south (Map 6.7). They were also hoarded in many hoards in the British Kingdoms, on their own, alongside other Gallo-Belgic coins and alongside British inscribed examples, both in the eastern and southern kingdoms. The Gallo-Belgic distribution of single finds matches the distribution pattern of the hoards, so this pattern of widespread distribution was not just a coin hoard phenomenon.¹³⁶ While the widespread nature of Gallo-Belgic coins is notable for most of the Gallo-Belgic series, their distribution is not comparable with the number of Gallo-Belgic E hoards (in red, Map 6.7) which were dispersed across a greater distance. The Gallo-Belgic E coins seem to have been specifically designed to serve a more long-distance purpose.

The large output of the Gallo-Belgic E coinage, with estimates as high as 14,450,000 staters (de Jersey), certainly played a role in the widespread distribution of their hoards.¹³⁷

However, based on the number of coins in hoards, the coins attributed to the Coriosolitae in Armorica were also produced at scale (as of yet no estimate has been made), yet few Armorican coins left the region. Iron Age staters, despite their output, tended to rarely be hoarded beyond a particular area, so perhaps there are additional factors that contributed to the widespread distribution of Gallo-Belgic E.

Iconography, or indeed a lack of, may have played a role. The Gallo-Belgic E coins had the advantage of presenting a horse, thus likening it to every other stater produced, but without an obverse, so it had no obvious identifiable marker of its origin. As a result, perhaps producing a gold coin with a horse reverse, but no obverse, allowed the type to be accepted throughout the gold stater coinage of any area. The uniface aspect of the Gallo-Belgic E stater is suspected to have been designed to allow for the faster and cheaper production of the coin during the Gallic war.¹³⁸ However, the Armorican coins of the Coriosolitae are also suspected to be a wartime issue, yet they maintained their complex obverse design. I would like to introduce the idea that the removal of iconography from the Gallo-Belgic E obverse may have been intended to allow for their widespread circulation amongst other staters. In this sense, the coins were designed to facilitate exchanges

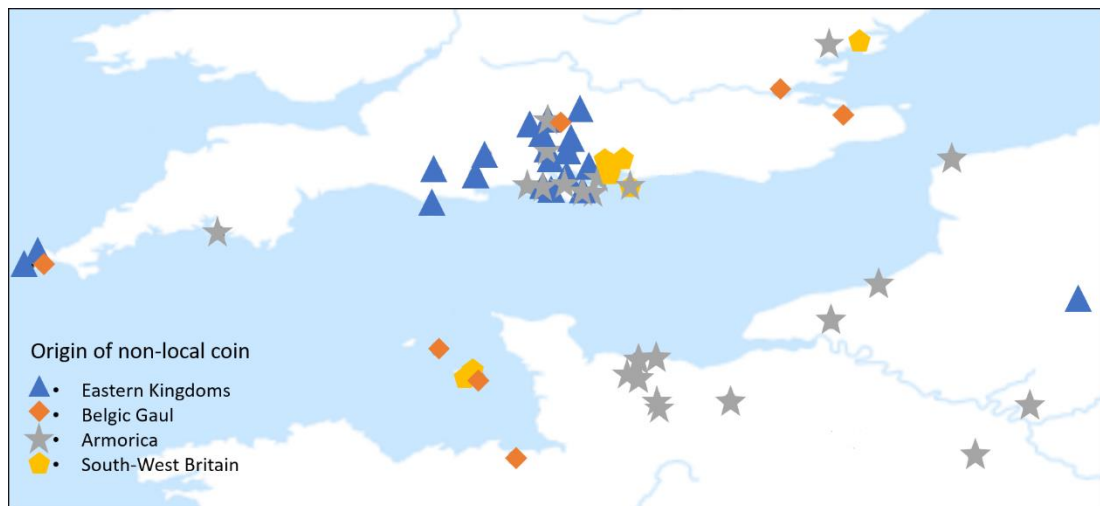
¹³⁶ Leins (2012) 79, fig. 4.6; Roymans & Scheers (2012a) 10, fig. 7.

¹³⁷ Haselgrove (1984) 90; de Jersey (2009) 266.

¹³⁸ Scheers (1977) 67; Sills (2003) 350.

between different groups, perhaps to pay for alliances and mercenaries, and as such a coin with a profoundly local iconography would not have been suitable. Indeed, it has been suggested that the output of the uniface staters could only be accomplished if the entire Belgic coalition facing Caesar committed resources to striking the coins, so the widespread nature of the coins in hoards reflects this supra-regional origin of the coins.¹³⁹

It has been suggested that pro-Roman sentiment was the cause of the lack of the low number of Gallo-Belgic coins in the southern kingdom.¹⁴⁰ This seems inaccurate; although Gallo-Belgic hoards were less common than those in the north, there were still many examples. Additionally, these areas have no problem hoarding their own local coins with Gallo-Belgic E coins, so the latter were accepted in local circulation.¹⁴¹ Furthermore, a comparably few hoards containing only Gallo-Belgic E coins appeared on the Belgium border, yet this is unlikely to be related to a pro-Roman attitude, particularly as this area is dominated by hoards that contained coins attributed to the Nervi, the tribe who aggressively opposed Caesar during the Gallic Wars.¹⁴² The lack of pure Gallo-Belgic E hoards in these regions perhaps indicates a greater availability of local coinage within the area, reducing the need to rely upon the Gallo-Belgic E staters.



Map 6.8: Distribution of hoards that contained staters not produced in the local region (not including Gallo-Belgic), across all periods.¹⁴³ Created by author using Antiquity À-la-carte.

¹³⁹ de Jersey (2009) 266; Sills (2017) 705.

¹⁴⁰ de Jersey (2014) 14.

¹⁴¹ Farnham (Surrey), Westergate.

¹⁴² Caesar, *Gallic Wars*, 2.16-2.28.

¹⁴³ Andover I, Arromaches-les-Bains, Baons-le-Comte, Barton-on-Sea, Belleville-sur-Mer, Bembridge, Bowerchalke, Carn Brea, Castillon I & II, le Câtillon I & II, Colchester (east of II), Compton, Danebury, Down Ground, Fawley I, Freshwater Bay, Gurnard Bay, Hambledon, Havant, Horndean, Hurstbourne

While it is not impossible for coinage with different obverse styles to appear in separate areas (for example, the Marks Tey I hoard), staters with locally designed wreaths seem to have locally defined circulation patterns. Examining the region under study as a whole, one sees very little movement of staters between regions amongst the hoards (Map 6.8). The Solent region is the only exception, as it occurred on the border of the two British regions, and unlike the Calvados region, it produced its own coins and thus there was a high acceptance of coin use. Hoards that contained coins from other regions tended to occur only in border areas where many different coins were available. Coins rarely infiltrated far into regions where other coins were produced, suggesting that individuals became accustomed to their local coin's iconography, and were less trusting of others, either because they did not recognise the image or, alternatively, they recognised the origin but did not trust the issuer. The Gallo-Belgic coinage, particularly the E series, breaks these trends, demonstrating that there were peculiar circumstances surrounding their production and distribution. Indeed, other staters produced in Belgic Gaul rarely travelled beyond the region (Map 6.3). The use of staters was based around familiarity surrounding their designs; the early Gallo-Belgic series introduced the design, hence their later acceptance, and the later Gallo-Belgic E series provided a blank design, perhaps as a way of demonstrating that it was a neutral coinage.

6.5: Chapter Summary

This chapter has presented and evaluated current theories regarding Iron Age coinage, particularly related to the role of the stater. It can now be proposed that:

- The distinction between gold, silver and bronze coinage, while present, should not be overestimated. The denomination of the coins and particularly the iconography could enhance a coin's importance regardless of its metal, which is why staters dominated Iron Age hoards and non-stater hoards were rare.
- The ritual role of coins has been overexaggerated. One should be wary of applying a ritual explanation to hoards without significant evidence, particularly as the nature of any ritual involved is often hard to identify.

Tarrant, Kingsclere, Marks Tey II, Mount Batten, Orsett, Penzance I & II, Piddletrenthite, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine, le Plessis-Grimoult I & II, Portchester, Port-en-Bessin-Huppain, Portland Bill, Portsmouth, Ringwood II, Saint Arnoult, Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives, Sangatte, Selsey, Shapwick, St Mary Bourne, Trinity III, Twyford, Winchester, Yarmouth.

- While the larger hoards such as the Câtillon hoards may attract public and academic attention, most hoards were in fact much smaller (less than 50 coins). The use of staters was generally on a small scale.
- Coinage tended not to move particularly far. Iron Age communities preferred coinage with familiar iconography, although there were exceptions in specific circumstances, such as on islands or with the Gallo-Belgic E coinage.

Staters seem to have been valued in hoards because their conservative iconography supported their use in the future and stater use on sites occurred only rarely, hence it made sense to hoard them for a long period of time. It would appear then that hoards were a form of wealth storage, to maintain the coins for future use, as the features described above of the staters seem designed for this purpose. This is not the case for all hoards and there were outliers, such as Paris (Charenton), that seem to have had a ritual purpose. The larger hoards particularly break the norm, so perhaps here one can see particular events encouraging these large depositions (discussed in the following chapter). Nevertheless, the majority of the hoards in the region seemed intended as forms of wealth storage and were accessed only as and when needed.

The view that staters were designed for use in exchange contrasts with the views of scholars who do not believe that coinage served a significant monetary use amongst the segmentary communities of the Iron Age (5.2). Scholars have instead looked to anthropological literature on modern segmentary societies to understand monetary use in the Iron Age.¹⁴⁴ However, it must be remembered that much of the anthropological literature studies money, but not necessarily objects with a long history of economic exchange.¹⁴⁵ The societies examined by anthropologists usually utilise local currencies such as shells or bronze pieces, which had a history of social exchange. In contrast, in these same communities, coins and banknotes were foreign objects, which had a history of monetary use. When they arrived amongst these communities, they usually took on a monetary role rather than or in addition to being integrated with local systems of exchange; their role in foreign cultures as an economic object was recognised and adopted by local communities.¹⁴⁶ For the Gauls, the first interaction with coins would have been in

¹⁴⁴ Aarts & Roymans (2009) 11; Pion (2012); Sillitoe (2012) 161.

¹⁴⁵ E.g. Mauss (1925); Polanyi (1957a); (1957b); Gregory (1980).

¹⁴⁶ Hopkins (1973) 150; LiPuma (1999) 192. *Contra* Robins & Akin (1999) 21.

the form of mercenary payment from Hellenistic rulers, not as a ritual, gift-exchange or a dowry.¹⁴⁷ In the societies these mercenaries operated in, coinage was a form of exchange, therefore, there was a precedent to how coins were expected to be used. It is doubtful that this precedent was ignored when coins entered northern Europe.

It is unlikely that Iron Age communities would borrow an entirely new medium of object only to use it in the same ways as their traditional media. Unlike objects used in other cultures that become currencies after developing from their use in the prestige sphere, such as arrowheads in the Black Sea, coinage stands apart, as it was a conscious innovation with no comparable predecessor in Iron Age culture that might have pushed it into a prestige or votive role.¹⁴⁸ It is more plausible that coins in the ancient world were primarily associated with economic exchange, and this association manifested itself in Iron Age society. This does not mean that secondary uses were not possible, and there may have been circumstances related to rituals. However, I believe that at least in the case of the majority of the stater hoards, the Iron Age inhabitants were interested in coinage for its economic function.

¹⁴⁷ Nash (1987) 14; Sills (2003) 107; Pion (2012) 152.

¹⁴⁸ Kim (2001) 9.

7: The Silver Corridor

This thesis has demonstrated that patterns of coin hoarding can be witnessed across the Channel. This chapter explores the mechanics that created these patterns through a case study of the Silver Corridor, the line of hoards of silver and billon coins that were deposited across the Western Channel from approximately 60-20 BC. The historical and archaeological record, supplemented by historical parallels and anthropological literature, can determine a possible causation for this pattern of hoards: that debasement led to distrust in coinage, and a decline in cross-Channel trade led to a decline in the power of the coin-producing regional elites, who relied upon and facilitated this trade.¹ This would eventually lead to the cessation of coinage in the region itself.

The hoarding pattern of the Silver Corridor was an anomaly, as the hoards within it had notable differences from the hoards beyond it. The past chapters have determined that there were Channel-wide patterns of hoarding. These can be summarised as:

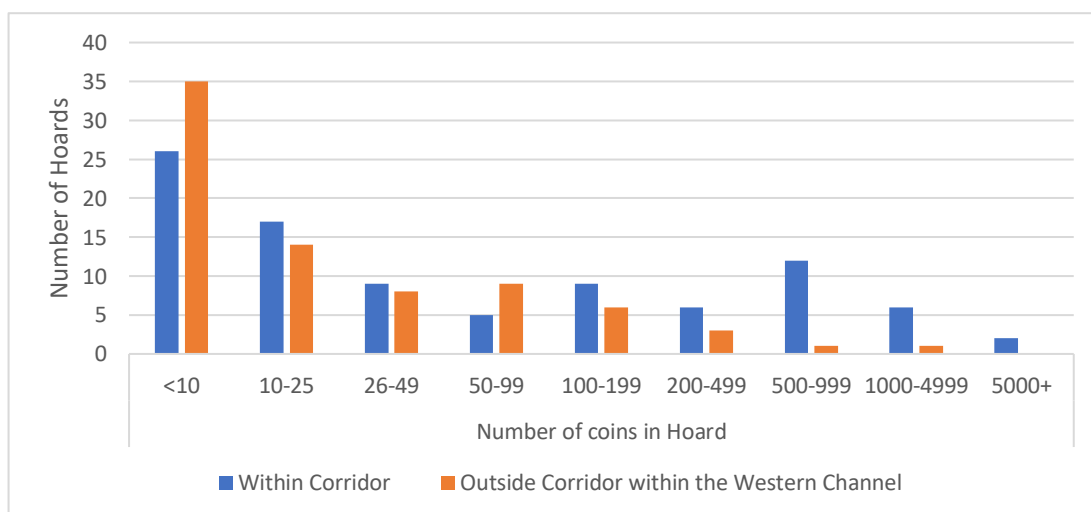
- The majority of hoards consisted of staters.
- Non-staters by comparison were rare in hoards.
- Coins not produced locally were rarely hoarded.
- Iron Age and Roman coins were rarely hoarded together.
- Hoards tended to be small.

The hoards of the Silver Corridor, while mostly following these rules, have a number of notable differences:

- The majority of hoards consisted of staters, but the staters were billon rather than gold. Some of these coins were silver-rich, but a large number were almost entirely devoid of precious metal. Therefore, the majority of hoarded coins could not be considered to be intrinsically valuable as staters from outside the Corridor could.

¹ The term “elites” is admittedly a vague term, and in scholarship can encompass anything from a rich farmer to an emperor. It has been suggested that Iron Age society was structured in a manner that meant the formation of an elite was not inevitable (Hill (2012) 248-249). However, the reference to a senate (Caesar, *Gallic Wars*, 3.16) in Armorica indicates that there were individuals of influence within the region, who were the heads of extended family groups and the leaders of large communities. It is to these that the term “elite” refers for the sake of this chapter, and the vagueness of the term is appropriate considering our limited knowledge of their roles and positions.

- Non-stater coins were not produced in the Corridor, whereas in other regions they were produced but rarely hoarded. The only possible exception were the *petits billons armoricains*, and it will be demonstrated that these coins were absent from the Corridor.
- Armorican coins, and to a lesser extent coins from the South-West British Coast, travelled beyond their region of origin and appeared in hoards on the opposite side of the Channel. Unlike the Gallo-Belgic coins of the Eastern Channel, the iconography of Armorican and South-West British Coast coins differed, yet they were hoarded together. This suggests that the circumstances surrounding the hoardings of coins of Armorica and the South-West British Coast were related. These mixed hoards were more common on the Isle of Wight and Jersey, which contained the largest hoards of the Western Channel.
- Hoards that contained both Western Channel and Roman coins were rare in Armorica or dated to after the Early Julio-Claudian period on the South-West British Coast. The Silver Corridor arose during 60-20 BC, and the appearance of Roman coinage in hoards dated to this period was notably minimal.
- Hoards were generally much larger in the Silver Corridor than outside it (Graph 7.1).

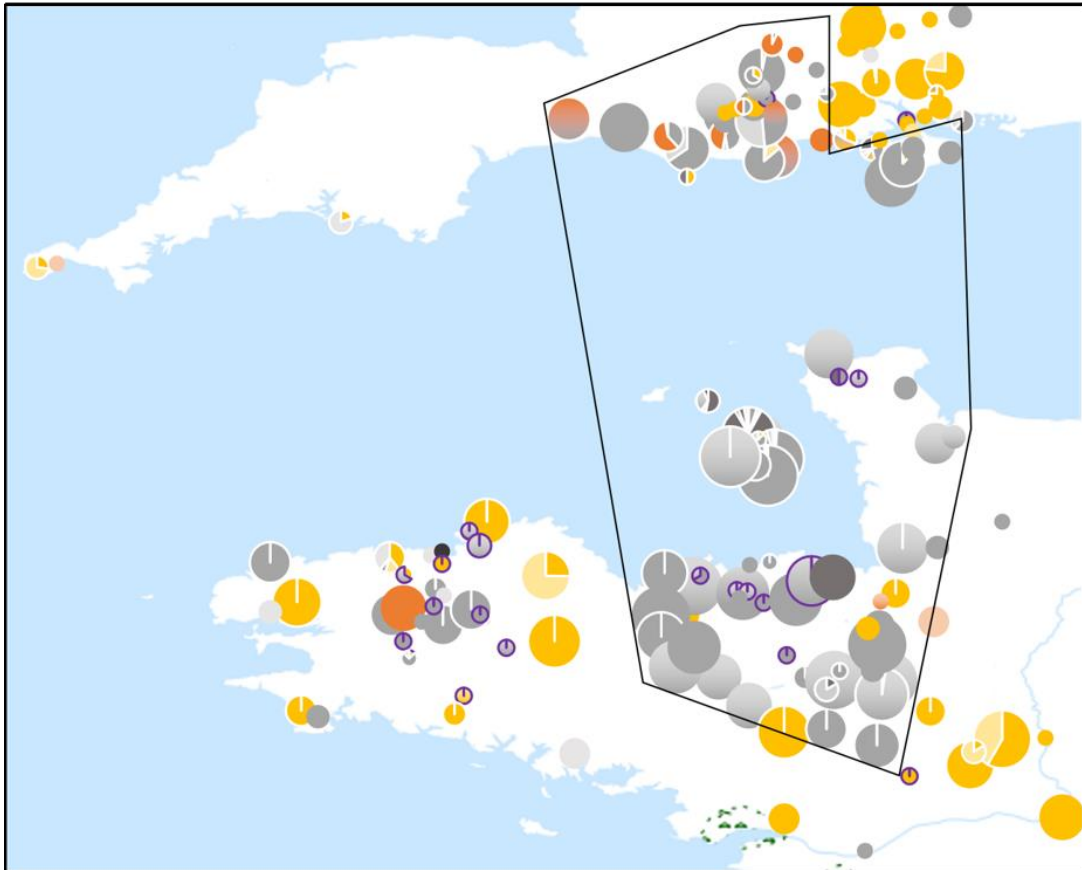


Graph 7.1: Comparison of hoard size within and beyond the Silver Corridor in 60-20 BC.

This latter point regarding hoard size is significant. We have seen that stater hoards tended to be small, commonly consisting of fewer than ten coins (6.2.1). However, a notable number of hoards were exceptionally larger, and more hoards of over 100 coins appeared within the Corridor than outside it (Graph 7.1). Indeed, almost all the largest hoards in the Western Channel were within the Corridor. The explanations I have provided for coin

hoards (that they served as a form of wealth storage) may not be applicable for many of the hoards in the Corridor, as the hoards show many irregularities. Understanding the Silver Corridor hoards thus requires an in-depth, more nuanced and region-specific explanation.

7.1: The Structure of the Silver Corridor



Map 7.1: The Silver Corridor. Created by author using Antiquity À-la-carte.

The Silver Corridor (Map 7.1) was a distinct pattern of hoards of silver and billon staters: this pattern appeared on both sides of the Channel. To the east, west, and south of the Corridor, gold coinage appeared in hoards; this silver/gold “border” has been used to delimit the Corridor. Within the Corridor lie a number of Iron Age ports and the Channel Islands, some of which may have served as redistribution locations or safe harbours (Map 7.2). That they were present within the Silver Corridor suggests that the Corridor’s existence was connected to cross-Channel movements.



Map 7.2: Ports and Channel Islands within the Silver Corridor. Created by author using Antiquity À-la-carte.

The Silver Corridor phenomenon has not been perceived before by scholars, since prior explanations of hoard patterns have only examined Britain or Gaul separately and rarely considered cross-Channel similarities. In Armorica, the debasement of coinage in Gaul has been related to Caesar's invasion and the hoards are often seen as crisis hoards buried for safekeeping by warriors or refugees, who were unable to recover the hoards due to their death in the conflict or the dangers in returning.² Conceivably, this explanation could also be applied to the South-West British Coast hoards, as Armorica allegedly sought help from Britain during the conflict with Caesar.³ It is unclear if they received this help or not, but given the connectivity between the South-West British Coast and Armorica it is a possibility, particularly as Caesar referred to the Britons assisting in all wars in Gaul and it is

² E.g. Colbert de Beaulieu (1958b) 49; Allen (1968b) 53; Gruel (1986) 106.

³ Caesar, *Gallie Wars*, 3.9.

only during his account of the Armorican conflict that he directly refers to British involvement.⁴ However, the favoured explanation for the South-West British coinage of Dorset is that the region ran out of gold following the loss of trade with Armorica, and hence had to debase its coinage.⁵ Leins interpreted the hoards as the result of Gresham's law, with newer, bronze coins replacing the earlier silver-rich coins, driving the latter from circulation.⁶

The view that debasement was the result of a decline in precious metal stocks should be challenged. In Armorica and on the South-West British Coast, the debasement coincided with the production of many more coins. Rather than debasement occurring to preserve precious metal stocks, it seems to have been intended to use the same amount of gold and silver to produce more coins; it relates more to a need for more coins than a decline in resources. In Armorica, the rise in the volume of coinage has been, logically, related to the Gallic Wars, and it is probable that the debasement of the South-West British coins could also have been a response to this event. We observed in chapter 5 that the British Kingdoms copied the introduction of a struck silver coin with classical iconography in Belgic Gaul, so it is possible that the South-West British Coast similarly responded to developments in the coinage of Armorica. Debasement was cross-regional and requires a cross-Channel explanation.

Despite suggestions that a link existed between the debased coinages of Armorica and the South-West British Coast, the nature of this connection is rarely remarked upon.⁷ Examples where the hoards of Armorica are incorporated into a cross-Channel narrative are rare. Hooker suggests that the contents of Armorican hoards were intended as scrap metal destined for the cupellation hearths (designed to extract silver from alloys) found at Hengistbury Head in Dorset, and that the Armorican coins were hidden to prevent Roman authorities from looting the coins.⁸ This argument is an attempt to incorporate all extant material into a single narrative, even though there is no obvious connection. Hooker himself admits that his argument is highly speculative, but it is one of the few arguments

⁴ Raaflaub (2017) 120.

⁵ Van Arsdell (1989a) 287; Leins (2012) 151

⁶ Leins (2012) 150.

⁷ Sills (2017) 257.

⁸ Hooker (2002) 11.

that tries to interpret hoarding patterns within a cross-Channel framework. Generally, however, the focus for Iron Age coins has tended to be on the Eastern Channel, so the limited interpretation of Western Channel hoards is at least in part due to a lack of scholarly attention.

7.2: The Decline of the Western Channel

A decline in trade can lead to far more than coin debasement, and that has yet to be considered in detail for the Western Channel. Local political and social systems were also tied to the fate of these networks and the coin hoarding seen on both sides of the Western Channel can be envisaged as a shared reaction to the transformation of these trade routes. The rest of this chapter is dedicated to exploring how the creation and decline of the Western Channel trade routes may have profoundly transformed society, and thus the coin hoarding patterns.

It is worth outlining what we know of Western Channel trade, so one can gauge its importance. The surviving evidence for cross-Channel trade in the Western Channel is limited (4.4). Amphorae are the best objects to demonstrate the existence of this trade and their distribution shows marked changes before and after the Gallic Wars. Amphorae produced primarily prior to the Gallic Wars (Dressel 1a) show a distribution favouring the Western Channel (Map 7.3). Armorica had access to the trade routes that hugged the European Atlantic coast, which allowed the transport of amphorae. These were initially transported to the Atlantic coastline from the Mediterranean across overland routes in south-west Gaul.⁹ From Armorica, amphorae travelled to the South-West British Coast. In addition, Armorica may have provided precious metals in the form of alluvial gold and tin, which may have enabled the early coinage of the South-West British Coast.¹⁰ Large sources of native gold are rare in Britain, and any local gold would have been accessed through surface rocks, which are no longer archaeologically visible.¹¹ Cornwall and Wales offered the only notable nearby gold sources, but the gold in Cornwall was not of a quantity to attract much attention and the mines in Wales would not open until the Roman period.¹² Likewise, silver was only accessible from Armorica or further afield in Spain, as native

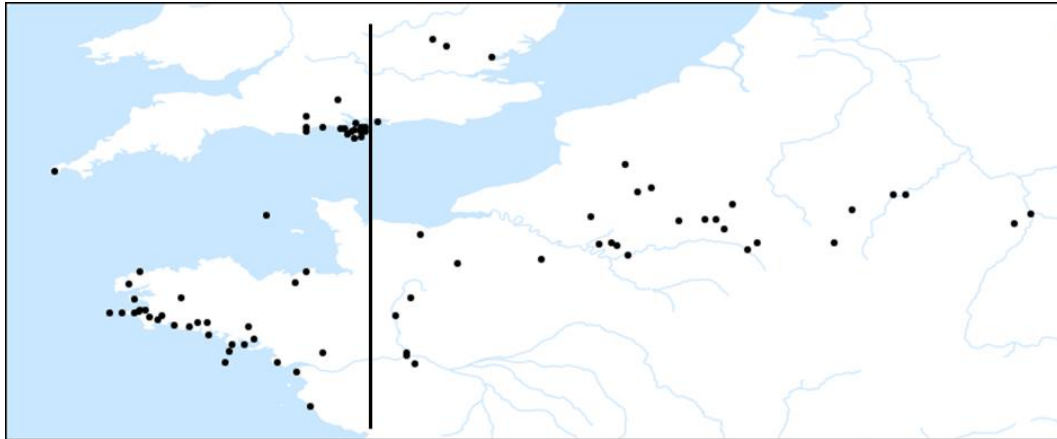
⁹ Galliou (1984) 26; Cunliffe (2001) 402.

¹⁰ Cunliffe (2001) 223; Abollivier (2008) 86.

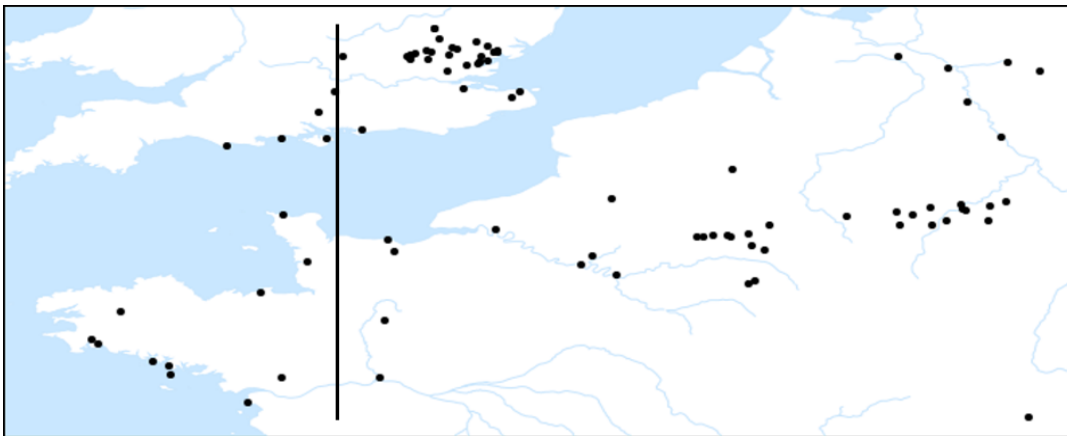
¹¹ Tylecote (1986) 1.

¹² Tylecote (1986) 1-2.

British sources of silver occur only in deep veins, which would have been difficult for Iron Age peoples to access.¹³ Procuring precious metal would have been dependent on maritime links, and there is no evidence that communities on the South-West British Coast had their own fleet: they seemed to have relied upon the Armorican ships mentioned by Caesar.¹⁴ The South-West British Coast appears to have depended upon Armorica, at least in terms of prestige objects and materials. However, amphorae produced after the Gallic Wars (Dressel 1b) favoured the Eastern Channel (Map 7.4). This would seem to suggest a change in trade routes that resulted in the Western Channel losing access to established networks.¹⁵



Map 7.3: Distribution of Dressel 1a amphorae in Britain, Gaul and Germany.¹⁶ Line indicates division between Eastern and Western Channel. Created by author using Antiquity À-la-carte.



Map 7.4: Distribution of Dressel 1b amphorae in Britain, Gaul and Germany.¹ Line indicates division between Eastern and Western Channel. Created by author using Antiquity À-la-carte.

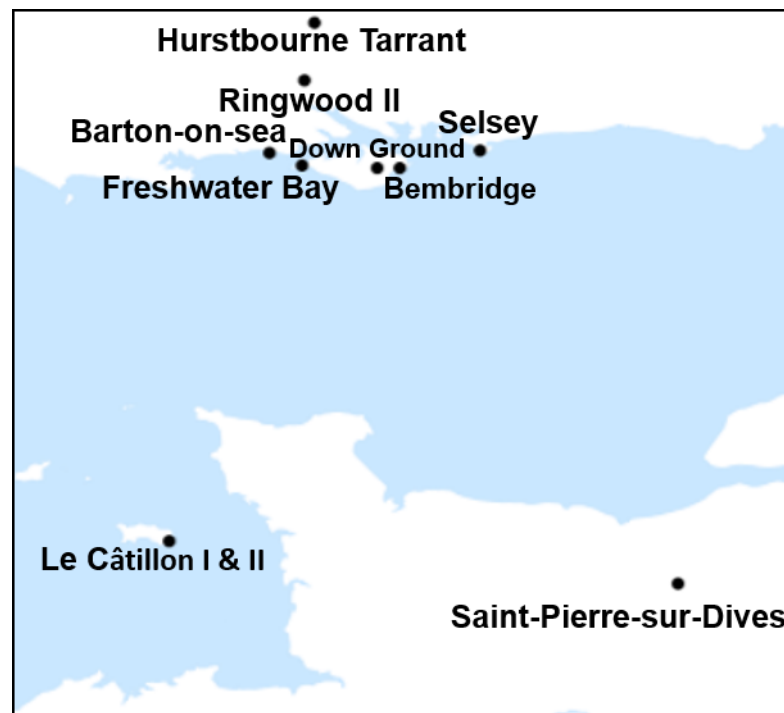
¹³ Gowland (1920) 128; Tylecote (1986) 1.

¹⁴ Caesar, *Gallic Wars*, 3.13

¹⁵ Galliou (1984) 30; Cunliffe (1988b) 150; (2001) 399; (2012) 19; Morris (2010) 27.

¹⁶ Galliou (1982) 35-78; Roymans (1990) 148-150, table 7.1; Carver (2001) 78-80, appendix 1.

Both the expansion of trade and then its decline encouraged distinct changes in the communities of the Western Channel. The c.150-50 BC period in the Western Channel saw the rise of Iron Age ports such as Alet and Hengistbury Head and the appearance of amphorae; simply put we can see the arrival of new material as well as the development of sites to ensure their continued import (Hengistbury Head) and export (Alet).¹⁷ The distribution of amphorae is comparable with that of hoards that contained a mix of Armorican and South-West British Coast coins (Map 7.5), particularly the concentration on the Isle of Wight. Also within the Corridor is the harbour of Hengistbury Head, where site finds included Armorican coins and 1367 amphorae sherds, further suggesting the two were connected.¹⁸ The rise of Hengistbury Head seems to have coincided with the development of coinage in the Western Channel, as well as the appearance of cemeteries, the distribution of standardised ceramics and a demographic move from hillforts to defended sites along the South-West British Coast.¹⁹ Cross-Channel communication and trade was at the very least involved in, if not pivotal to, internal changes in the societies of the South-West British Coast.



Map 7.5: Distribution of hoards that contained coins of both the South-West British Coast and Armorica. Created by author using Antiquity À-la-carte.

¹⁷ Cunliffe (1978) 14; Langouët (1984); Sealey (2009) 3.

¹⁸ Carver (2001) 24; Wilkes (2004) 154; de Jersey (2014) 98.

¹⁹ Sharples (1990) 302.

The decline in the volume of amphorae in the Western Channel in the latter half of the 1st century BC coincided with a rise in the volume of amphorae in the Eastern Channel, as well as other developments that were unique to the east but not the west. Welwyn-style burials, which included Roman and Gallo-Roman imported ceramics, appeared in the British Kingdoms with parallels in Belgic Gaul, and the sites of Camulodonum (Colchester), Verulamium (St Albans) and Calleva Atrebatum (Silchester) developed into proto-urban centres loosely approximating the towns of the Mediterranean.²⁰ The classical iconography that appeared on coins on both sides of the Eastern Channel accompanied these developments. There is also evidence that the Roman government was increasingly taking an interest in the region. A *sella curulis*, the seat of Roman magistrates and eventually the emperor, was present in the Lexden tumulus near Colchester, which also contained a range of Roman ceramics and bronze figurines.²¹ Such prestige objects were perhaps gifted by Roman authorities, suggesting a relationship between Iron Age communities and Mediterranean powers. Gosden identified these developments in the Eastern Channel as “The Middle Ground” version of imperialism, in which foreign imperial elements interacted with local communities to create new cultural developments.²² Such developments did not occur in the Western Channel, suggesting that the region had become isolated from the widening influence of the Mediterranean world.

Events and the geography of the Eastern Channel can explain this change in trade networks. The presence of the Roman army in eastern Gaul at the end of the 1st century BC stimulated the local economy and attracted the attention of the Roman authorities, further encouraging the development of the region.²³ Additionally, the Dover-Rhine strait was the shortest journey across the Channel and given the resource needs of the Roman empire, the shortest route would have been selected as the most efficient.²⁴ It has also been suggested that there were patron relationships between Roman and local elites in Belgic Gaul, and likewise the British Kingdoms may have served as client kingdoms of Rome.²⁵ It is difficult to judge whether the dynastic kingdoms encouraged Roman trade or vice-versa,

²⁰ Gosden (2004) 108-109; Hill (2007) 28.

²¹ Laver (1927) 249; Foster (1986) 188.

²² Gosden (2004) 26.

²³ Cunliffe (2001) 398-399; Morris (2010) 27.

²⁴ McGrail (1997) 189.

²⁵ Creighton (2000) 170; (2006) 22; Aarts & Roymans (2009) 8.

but the centralised powers in the British Kingdoms (as the iconography and legends on coins seem to indicate) would have further encouraged Roman involvement.²⁶

However, there were significant features of the Western Channel after the Gallic Wars that may also have drawn trade away. Caesar described that prior to the invasion it was the Armoricans who orchestrated cross-Channel trade.²⁷ This would have been made difficult with the destruction of their fleet, the enslavement of their people and the execution of their senate in the aftermath of the Roman invasion.²⁸ Armorica was in crisis, politically, demographically, economically and militarily. Armorica's position as the middleman between the Mediterranean powers to the south and the South-West British Coast to the north would have been in jeopardy. This would in turn would have caused difficulties for the South-West British Coast, in addition to any potential losses that might have occurred in their assistance of Armorica during the Gallic Wars. The South-West British Coast was also afflicted by natural changes, such as the silting of Hengistbury Head harbour.²⁹ The disruption this caused is difficult to judge, as a small number of Roman coins on the site indicates that it was still functioning until at least the Antonine period, and the nearby Iron Age port of Poole harbour may have served as an easy replacement.³⁰ Nevertheless, Hengistbury Head decreased in activity after the Gallic Wars, and the silting cannot have helped matters.³¹

7.3: The Impact of Trade: An Anthropological Perspective

The limited textual accounts of the Western Channel and the lack of archaeological data on the full scale of cross-Channel exchange creates difficulties in identifying the impact of trade, and its subsequent decline, on the communities of the Western Channel. However, historical and anthropological parallels can provide a framework for possible interpretation.

²⁶ Morris (2010) 27.

²⁷ Caesar, *Gallic Wars*, 3.8

²⁸ Caesar, *Gallic Wars*, 3.16; Cunliffe (2001) 399.

²⁹ Wilkes (2004) 266.

³⁰ Cunliffe (1978) 44; Wilkes (2004) 266; (2007) 126; de Jersey (2014) 109.

³¹ Wilkes (2004) 265.

7.3.1: The Impact of Improved Trade

The impact of trade in the Western Channel prior to the Gallic Wars must first be considered. It is debated how beneficial trade can be in developing wide structural changes in a society. Trade in the historical past, such as on the West African coast during the era of the slave trade, predominantly benefited the elite, but it is theorised that some of this exchange filtered down to the poorer elements of society, encouraging economic growth.³² In reality, in West Africa the goods provided through trade were primarily prestige goods, and these were almost entirely restricted to palaces in regional centres.³³ A similar case is seen in the Hallstatt period of Iron Age Gaul. The Hallstatt culture derives its name from an early Iron Age (7th to 5th centuries BC) community existing around the Switzerland region, which showed early signs of centralisation. These communities traded with Mediterranean colonies such as Massalia, but prestige goods from the Greek and Etruscan worlds were rare and found predominantly within centralised sites and rich burials.³⁴ The goods enhanced connections amongst the elite but did not directly benefit society as a whole.³⁵ Trade led to development, but this development was centred around a specific group of individuals.

Amphorae have been found in a variety of Armorican settlements, including sanctuary sites and large enclosures.³⁶ However, the number of amphorae finds and cross-Channel imports on the South-West British Coast are small in comparison to local ware.³⁷ Their small number indicates that wine would have been rare, which would have enhanced its value as a prestige good, so despite their low volume their presence would have had an important role.³⁸ This is particularly noticeable on the South-West British Coast where Dressel 1a amphorae finds were concentrated rather than spread out across Dorset and Hampshire (Map 7.3 above), representing specific communities controlling their movements.³⁹ In the British Kingdoms, amphorae were deposited in the Welwyn graves of the Eastern Channel

³² Hopkins (1973) 79; Law (1991) 345.

³³ Monroe (2011) 404.

³⁴ Dietler (1990) 384-385; Randsborg (1992) 12.

³⁵ Dietler (1990) 387.

³⁶ Galliou (1984) 28-29.

³⁷ Wilkes (2004) 381, table 13.

³⁸ Dietler (1990) 386; Law (1991) 345.

³⁹ Sharples (1990) 300.

and coin types showed images of amphorae, wine cups and wine grapes (Fig 7.1).⁴⁰ These finds show that wine drinking had great importance to the elite in the Eastern Channel, and while this is not easily determined for the Western Channel, this is because of their different approach to burials, which were usually lacking grave goods and coins, rather than a different approach to prestige imports.⁴¹



Fig 7.1: Verica, silver unit, ABC 1241, AD c.10-40?, 1.25g, 11.71mm, die axis not recorded. Obv. [COM]MI F, thyrsus between two cornucopiae, wine cup below. Rev. VERI [CA], seated figure, r. holding spear in l. hand and shield in r. hand. Courtesy of the Portable Antiquities Scheme, SUR-3FAE33.

It is probable then that wine served as a new form of prestige good, the introduction of which could create new methods of presenting power. The control of such an exotic good would have demonstrated long-distance and local connections, and by extension not owning the good conveyed a lack of power.⁴² Amphorae may not have been the only imported objects used in this way. Armorican decorated ware often accompanied amphorae finds, and these were only the extant forms of the cross-Channel prestige trade: other forms may have existed that are now lost.⁴³ The Ringwood II hoard of die-linked Armorican gold coins may be one such representation of a cross-Channel transfer of high value objects that were not amphorae. Increased efforts to maintain these connections seemingly resulted in the development of the port of Hengistbury Head and Alet, just as European trade encouraged the expansion of the port Whydah in west Africa.⁴⁴

It is probable that the elite of the Western Channel incorporated imported prestige objects into their own social spheres, where they could be exchanged to enhance prestige or kept as a sign of wealth and power.⁴⁵ During these ongoing social changes, these elite may have encouraged the development and use of coinage within the Western Channel. It is probable that given the availability of gold in Armorica that the first gold coins of the

⁴⁰ Fischer (2006); Sealey (2009) 7; Woods (2014) 1. E.g. ABC 1193, 1241, 1286, 1322, 1331, 2855. There are also examples from central Gaul (e.g. DT 3574), demonstrating that the importance of wine on coinage extended beyond Britain.

⁴¹ Papworth (2011) 53.

⁴² Dietler (1990) 387; Kelly (2010) 100.

⁴³ Cunliffe (1984a) 7.

⁴⁴ Monroe (2011) 405.

⁴⁵ Dietler (1990) 387.

South-West British Coast would have been enabled by the elite with cross-Channel connections. There seems to have been a connection between the means to acquire foreign imports and coinage at some level, particularly given that hoards containing Armorican coins on the South-West British Coast correspond with amphorae distribution. Additionally, the Mellac hoard in Armorica was found alongside amphorae sherds and a large number of coins appeared at Hengistbury Head alongside thousands of sherds of amphorae, solidifying this connection.

7.3.2: The Impact of a Decline in Trade

Certain societies, such as the African kingdom of Dahomey, diversified their products to allow for changes in the market.⁴⁶ Others looked for different suppliers, such as the Japanese during the Sekoku period, who upon closing their borders to Christian nations, instead made great efforts to acquire prestige goods through local Asian countries.⁴⁷ The South-West British Coast did not have these options when their Armorican partner weakened. Many of the goods that Strabo recorded the Romans importing from Britain, such as grain, iron, cattle and dogs, would have been accessible throughout Britain, so the South-West British Coast did not have a monopoly on their supply.⁴⁸ More importantly the means by which these goods could be transported, in the form of the Armorican fleet and elite who helped facilitate the trade, were ravaged by Caesar's invasion. The crisis was not the result of a particular product going into decline but of trade in the Western Channel in general.

When the slave trade declined in west Africa owing to the industrial revolution transforming European labour requirements, powers in Africa turned to other resources to maintain their foreign connections. This could be disruptive: when palm oil became the favoured export over slaves in the African kingdom of Dahomey, this allowed small-scale farmers, previously unable to access the markets of western powers due to an inability to resource slave raids, to enter into this wider commercial world.⁴⁹ This proved problematic to the more established Dahomey elites, as they no longer monopolised control over

⁴⁶ Hopkins (1973) 89; Adams (1974) 245.

⁴⁷ Kazui & Downing (1982) 292.

⁴⁸ Strabo, *Geography*, 4.5.2.

⁴⁹ Hopkins (1973) 125; Monroe (2011) 409.

international trade. This might have also occurred in the Western Channel: the elites had managed their power base and expressed power through imports only they could access and once the imports were gone, they had greater difficulty in maintaining their power.

The debasement of coinage could also have led to problems in political control. The decline of precious metal in coinage would mark a fundamental shift in the control of wealth. The ownership of currency is a representation of power as it shows that its owners have capacity for action: the ability to acquire anything one wishes.⁵⁰ With the lowering of the intrinsic value of coins, the prestige associated with owning these objects would have diminished, as the notion of coins as an object of value would have been weakened. Additionally, with more coins came more opportunities for a greater variety of people to gain access to them, and their debased nature meant an inflation of sorts may have occurred, leading to individuals and communities requiring greater supplies of coins. Many of the Western Channel coins became so debased as to have little to no precious metal: the only indication that they served a stater role was their shared iconography and similar diameter with earlier issues. They could no longer be considered a precious metal coinage so actions would have to have been implemented to ensure their continued value and use. Iron Age authorities could have guaranteed their value, perhaps implementing a fiduciary-style proclamation allowing for their use in the same manner as previous, more intrinsically valuable, coins. However, the power of these elites had been disrupted through changing economic circumstances or death at Caesar's hand, so they may not have possessed the sway to do so.

7.3.3: The End of Coinage in the Western Channel

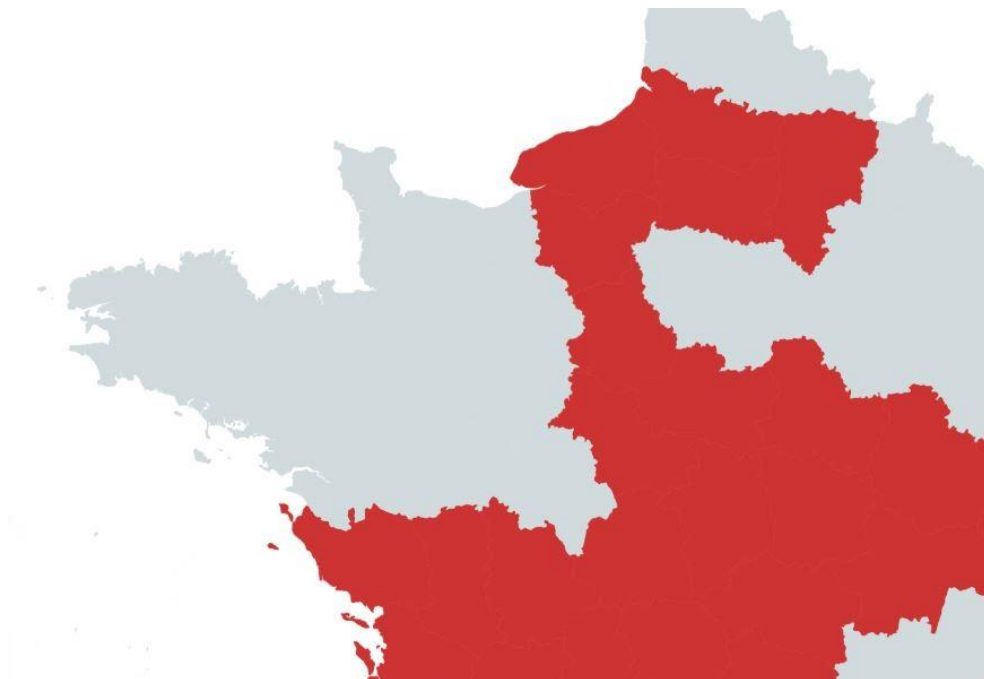
The decline in trade precipitated a decline in the use of coins. I have shown that, in contrast to the Eastern Channel, few hoards can be dated to the Augustan period and beyond in the Western Channel. The few hoards that contained both South-West British and Roman coins were small and irregular, which is hardly a sign of continued extensive circulation (4.5.1). However, the most prominent evidence for a decrease or even an end to the use of coinage in the Western Channel was a lack of further coin development. Communities in the Western Channel only rarely produced coins that were not staters or quarter staters. This is

⁵⁰ Graeber (1996) 6.

in contrast to almost every other Iron Age region that developed coinage throughout Britain and Gaul (Maps 7.6-7).



Map 7.6: Approximate regions (based on counties) in Britain where silver units were produced. www.mapchart.net/uk.html, accessed 22.03.2019. Created by author.



Map 7.7: Approximate regions (based on départements) in Gaul where silver units, Gallic quinarii and/or Gallic denarii are known to have been produced. www.mapchart.net/france-departments.html, accessed 09.04.2019. Created by author.

These other regions introduced a silver unit or *quinarius* denomination. Such denominations are unknown in the Western Channel, with the silver units restricted to the Solent region the only exception. These non-stater coins were designed to fulfil a number of functions depending on the region of production, such as serving as a lower value coin to the stater for small-scale transactions or to pay Gallic auxiliaries (5.7.3). These non-stater coins became common after stater production had ended in Gaul, forming a secondary stage of coinage development, yet this did not occur in the Western Channel.⁵¹ It would appear that coin development ceased almost entirely in the Western Channel after the debasement, which would seem to suggest that coinage itself had come to an end. Compared with the other regions, few Armorican coins appear as site finds, with the vast majority appearing in hoards.⁵² This suggests that the Armorican coins were specifically gathered in hoards, suggesting that their active use in society had ended. The South-West British Coast coinage may have continued in some fashion, based on the range of average weights in the hoards (see Map 4.12) and their presence in coin hoards dated to after the Claudian invasion. The impact of the Gallic Wars on the region was more limited than Armorica, which had been directly invaded. Nevertheless, over time the decline in trade seemingly weakened the region, which would lead to a general decline in the use of coins.

The only non-stater coins produced in Armorica were the *petits billons armoricains* (Fig 7.2) and their existence has implications for understanding the Western Channel hoards. The term refers to a wide variety of types, but they were all comprised of a base silver alloy and weighed around half a gram, almost three times as light as the average Armorican quarter stater.⁵³ The most common type bore the obverse of a Pallas Athena head, inspired by the coinage of the Greek city of Emporion in Iberia.⁵⁴ These coins had the lowest precious metal content in Armorica, and as a result are suggested to be late in date, in addition to appearing in stratigraphic contexts dated to 40 BC to AD 10.⁵⁵ It is clear that the *petits billons armoricains* circulated for a long time, but their dating to the war's aftermath is by no means certain and it is possible that they were produced during the Gallic Wars. They

⁵¹ Haselgrove (1993) 35, table 1; (1999) 164, table 1; Nick (2015) 221.

⁵² Wheeler & Richardson (1957); Gruel, Batt, Clément, Fichet de Clairefon-Taine, Galliou, Hyvert, Langouët & le Bihan (1990) 63.

⁵³ Gruel & Taccoën (1992); de Jersey (1994) 114-115.

⁵⁴ Gruel & Taccoën (1992) 166.

⁵⁵ Gruel, Batt, Clément, Fichet de Clairefon-Taine, Galliou, Hyvert, Langouët & le Bihan (1990) 66; Gruel & Taccoën (1992) 180-181; Abollivier (2008) 82, table 2.

are often compared to the silver minims (tiny silver coins, smaller than silver units) produced in Britain due to their similar diameter, but the minims are higher in silver content, have different iconography and were rarer in hoards than the *petits billons armoricains*, so such a connection is doubtful.⁵⁶



Fig 7.2: *Petit billon armoricain*, DT 2366, c.40-10 BC, 0.39g, diameter and die axis not recorded. Obv. Head r. Rev. Horse, r., crescent and three pellets above, pellet semicircle below. de Jersey (2017b) 4, no. 08344, accessed 10.10.2019.

The *petits billons armoricains* were hoarded on their own (three hoards) and together with other denominations, including staters and quarter staters (eight hoards).⁵⁷ Their common inclusion with staters is unusual for a non-stater coin (6.2.3) and they did not have high levels of silver similar to other non-stater examples, suggesting that these coins were not an equivalent to the *quinarii* and silver units of other Iron Age groups. They seem to have acted as mini-staters based on their metal content and presence in stater hoards, yet in the majority cases their iconography differed significantly from most Armorican coin types.⁵⁸

These coins perhaps represented a new cultural approach to coins, perhaps inspired by a new group of coin producers. The debasement of the staters encouraged the development of other coins of limited intrinsic value, so one would require less silver to produce coins. This allowed new coin producers to develop, who had less resources nor had access to the Armorican die-cutters of the original coins. This is similar to the above example of the new men of influence that appeared among the Dahomey as the commercial situation changed. The *petits billons armoricains* could potentially show a change in Armorican power relationships as a result of the Gallic Wars.

⁵⁶ Gruel & Taccoën (1992) 165; Northover (1992) 289; Delestrée (2004) 97.

⁵⁷ On own: Brech, Guimaëc, Lannéanou II. With other denominations: Carantec, le Câtillon I & II, Kersaint-Plabennec, Plestin-les-Grèves, Saint-Jean-Trolimon, Scrignac, Trinity III.

⁵⁸ DT 2364-2370, 2372-2376, 2378-2383. DT 2371-2374 are the only types that display a human-headed horse on their reverse.

With the exception of the hoards on Jersey (which were already unusual due to their location on an island (4.8.3)) no hoards contained *petits billons armoricains* within the Silver Corridor, yet they appeared in hoards to the Corridor's east and south (Map 7.8). Single and site finds are also more common in the west and south than in the Corridor (Map 7.9), so the denomination seems to have had little impact on the communities in the Silver Corridor.⁵⁹ The Silver Corridor thus represents a region where coin use was breaking down, whilst the regions outside it were locations where a new denomination and form of coin was developing. The hoards show a disintegration of existing power relationships, but different areas reacted to this crisis in different ways.



Map 7.8: Hoards with at least one example of a *petit billon armoricain* across all periods. Created by author using Antiquity À-la-carte.



Map 7.9: Distribution of single and site finds of *petits billons armoricains* (Gruel & Taccoën (1992) 183-187, Annexe 2; de Jersey (1994) 232-233). Created by author using Antiquity À-la-carte.

⁵⁹ de Jersey (1994) 232.

A decline of the elites would have rendered much of the coinage without a fiduciary or social value to rely upon. Without this, the coins had to rely on their low intrinsic value. As a result, the population may have become distrustful of coinage as a medium of exchange and as a result it may have fallen out of large-scale use. This can be seen in the Hellenistic World, where some payments were requested to be paid in the coinage of a particular king, as these coins were known to be heavier, and thus higher value, than the coins of other kings.⁶⁰ In the Western Channel, however, the iconography was the same throughout all staters, so coins as a whole came to be distrusted. Throughout history, the decline in coin use in a society where coinage was previously utilised extensively is rare: in most cases another form of coinage is introduced to fill the gap. In Melanesia, for instance, foreign paper money took over some of the roles of local currencies.⁶¹ However, in the 5th century AD, following the fall of the western Roman Empire, no coins were produced in Britain until the Anglo-Saxon period.⁶² Indeed, many of the latest Roman coins were found in contemporary rubbish deposits, suggesting that coins were disposed of as they went out of use; this creates a situation that is not dissimilar to that of the hoards of the Western Channel.⁶³

One can perceive two circumstances behind the deposition of hoards in the Silver Corridor. The first were hoards deposited to hide wealth from Caesar and/or to maintain the coins as wealth storage. The smallest hoards may have fallen into this category, as they followed the norms of Iron Age coin hoarding. When coins fell out of active use, these hoards were abandoned and not recovered. The second circumstance were hoards deposited after the Gallic Wars, when it became clear that authorities in Armorica and on the South-West British Coast were struggling to maintain the support for coinage, particularly as the majority of coins in the Western Channel were intrinsically worthless. Perhaps here one might posit a votive cause: the coins had lost their function in the material world, so they were included in votive hoards. The Câtillon hoards are potential examples, as they contained a range of coins and material that was comparable to many sanctuary site finds (6.3.3). Despite the distinctions in the exact purpose of the hoards, the result was the same: a line of unrecovered debased coin hoards, stretching across the Channel.

⁶⁰ Flynn (2018) 16.

⁶¹ LiPuma (1999) 192.

⁶² Reece (2003) 157; Naismith (2014) 273.

⁶³ Reece (2003) 159.

7.4: Chapter Summary

The previous chapters have suggested that the decommissioning of coinage can coincide with large scale hoarding (potins, Gallic *quinarii*). In the Western Channel, coinage seems to have declined in use, as the elites responsible for producing the coinage (as well as maintaining the coins' fiduciary value) lost power. The cross-Channel trade networks that enabled the elite were no longer available to maintain their power. Coinage became intrinsically worthless through debasement, but it was the decline of trade and the accompanying elites that led to coins losing any social or imposed economic value that they might have had. While coins appear to have rarely travelled across the Channel, they were tethered to the existence of cross-Channel links. This relates to the theory of entanglement, where societies can be "locked into" a path that requires extensive resources to change the further along the path they go.⁶⁴ In this case, the Western Channel became dependent on cross-Channel links for its prestige objects, which in turn led to the development of coinage. These factors were entangled within the cross-Channel network, so when it fell, the entire system could no longer be supported.

A major question concerns why the coins were not melted down but were instead deposited. A plausible answer is that in fact a number of hoards were: there were no gold stater hoards present within the Silver Corridor. Higher value hoards may have been melted down, but the more debased coins contained so little silver that it would have required extensive effort to melt them down for little gain. This may be similar to an argument proposed by Mattingly for the Roman radiate hoards of the late 3rd century AD in Britain. These were also large, debased silver hoards, and Mattingly suggested that their non-recovery was a result of emperors introducing new coins of higher value that rendered the radiates worthless.⁶⁵ Nevertheless, there was a hope that the coins might regain their value: perhaps the emperor might give them a fiduciary value at a later date, and thus owners stubbornly held onto these coins in the hope of a future revaluing that never came.⁶⁶ This is also a modern phenomenon, known as "Product Retention Tendency", where individuals hold onto objects of little apparent current function with the hope of finding a use for them in the future.⁶⁷ Such individuals are particularly disinclined towards

⁶⁴ Hodder (2012) 105.

⁶⁵ Mattingly (1932) 93

⁶⁶ Mattingly (1932) 93; Mattingly & Pearce (1937) 181; Bland (2015b) 97-98.

⁶⁷ Haws, Naylor, Coulter & Bearden (2012) 224.

waste and in the Western Channel melting down coins with a potential valuable fiduciary value into metal of particularly low value might have been perceived as wasteful.⁶⁸

Depositors in the Western Channel in the Iron Age may also have planned for a revaluing of their coins; perhaps they hoped for a revival of the old order of political elites, but this never occurred. Alternatively, a perhaps more human motivation is nostalgia. The coins echoed an earlier age of Armorican independence or of a South-West British Coast social structure that was fading out of use. The coins themselves became heirlooms of the heritage of the Western Channel communities, and they were hoarded because their owners could not bear to melt them down. They were instead locked away like an heirloom in an attic, designed for safekeeping, but were not intended for recovery.

To summarise a possible series of events posited by this chapter:

- In the middle of the 2nd to early 1st centuries BC, cross-Channel trade began in earnest between Armorica and the South-West British Coast. While best demonstrated by amphorae, this may have been paralleled by other forms of now undetectable trade. Elites on both sides were participants and controllers of this trade.
- Armorican coinage began, perhaps encouraged by developments elsewhere in Gaul. The benefits of cross-Channel trade encouraged the development of the elite and facilitated the right conditions to result in coinage on the South-West British Coast. This became tied to the elite as a status symbol.
- The Gallic Wars began, and the Armoricans debased their coinage to manage their response. The South-West British coinage was also debased and increased in number, which occurred at a similar time or shortly after the debasement of the Armorican coinage. The debased coinage was provided with a fiduciary value or retained significant social value to the elites. After their defeat, the Armorican fleet was lost and many of the elite were executed, including individuals who may have had a role in cross-Channel trade. Armorican trading potential dissipated and the Eastern Channel became favoured for Roman goods.
- The Armorican elite, now weakened by Caesar's hands and the loss of their control of the Atlantic trade, no longer had the means to maintain the value of their coinage. Coinage fell out of use and was thus hoarded. The *petits billons*

⁶⁸ Haws, Naylor, Coulter & Bearden (2012) 226.

*armorica*ins may have been an attempt by less powerful forces in the society to break into traditional Armorican power structures through one associated medium, coinage. However, Armorican coinage was so debased that it ceased to be trusted and coinage came to an end in Armorica.

- The South-West British Coast elites were likewise weakened by the decline in cross-Channel trade. Their ability to produce a precious metal coinage diminished, and their coinage too came to be debased and thus distrusted, and as a result was hoarded. Coin use may have continued in some fashion or it may have ceased for the most part, but it no longer had great relevance.

8: Conclusion

In the 19th century, the coinage of Gaul and Britain was studied as a whole. However, as the number of coin finds intensified, the ability to collect all the data diminished, and the study of Iron Age coins became increasingly regionalised. Recent factors also play a role: the move away from the term Celts has meant overarching studies of “Celtic Europe” have declined, and Iron Age archaeology has become increasingly based on national lines.¹ As a result, few scholars closely study Britain’s coinage alongside that of Gaul.

I have demonstrated throughout this thesis the benefits of studying the coinage on both sides of the Channel alongside one another. Iron Age coinage existed within entangled networks, closely related to cross-cultural developments and exchange, and studies of Iron Age coins should ensure that the coinage is placed within this wider context. To this end, I have created a catalogue of the coin hoards of southern Britain and northern Gaul with a *terminus post quem* from 200 BC to AD 43. This new cross-national resource is particularly beneficial for Gaul, as a modern database consisting of all the hoards in northern France has not been created since Blanchet’s work (1900, 1905). Utilising this catalogue, I have aimed to demonstrate the cross-Channel links between Iron Age coinage, through:

- demonstrating that the western and eastern sides of the Channel are better categories for studying these coins than between northern Gaul and southern Britain. Coinage developments occurred in parallel across the Channel. This not only led to similarities in the denomination and iconographical style of coins used on both sides but also the ways in which these coins were hoarded. This suggests that the perception of the role of coins and different denominations was also similar across the Channel.
- the identification that islands shared the hoarding patterns of the nearby mainland, but with some key differences. The hoards tended to be larger, and the island locations provided access to a greater variety of coins from across the Iron Age world compared to hoards on the mainland.
- considering the role of the Gallic Wars and later Roman presence in disrupting the communication between cross-Channel communities, as seen in the coinage. The

¹ Moore & Armada (2011) 38.

British Kingdoms continued to imitate the coinage of Belgic Gaul, but the practices of hoarding differed, with the British Kingdoms not hoarding struck silver whereas Belgic Gaul did. Elsewhere, coinage as a medium seemed to decline throughout the Western Channel after the Gallic Wars. These responses to the Roman conquest of Gaul demonstrate the impact of imperialism both on the conquered communities and those who had come to rely upon those communities.

- an increased understanding of the general patterns of Iron Age coin hoarding. The previous focus on metals has been to the detriment of Iron Age numismatic study, as this approach has failed to acknowledge the distinction between staters and quarter staters, as well as the dominance of staters across hoards throughout the region under study. The value of the metal was certainly important in Iron Age society, but future discussions regarding the role of Iron Age coinage should also focus on the importance of the denomination. I have suggested that the deposition of staters related to wealth storage, whereas the occasional deposition of non-staters were reactions to the decommissioning of the coins, although there was occasional crossover.
- the questioning of whether ritual was a prime motivator in the deposition of coin hoards. Hoards have little information on their contexts, so the contents of the hoard are often utilised as a means of identifying elements of ritual. However, there is rarely anything within the hoard that can identify a ritual aspect to deposition.
- demonstrating that the number of hoards that contained non-coin objects and coins were few in the region under study. From the 2nd century BC, coins stood alone as an object, and thus the connotations surrounding coin use cannot easily be compared to other forms of material culture.
- the discovery of a cross-Channel coin hoarding pattern, the Silver Corridor. I would suggest that this pattern relates to the impact of the Gallic Wars and its aftermath driving coinage from active use, and I hope that future archaeological discoveries within Armorica and the South-West British Coast will further develop this theory.

One must also be wary of studying hoards in isolation, primarily because the largest and more interesting hoards tended to also be the most unusual. Most hoards in the region under study contained only a small number of coins, which suggests that the majority of interactions involving these objects would use them in small quantities. Additionally, iconography was relevant for coins, at least in terms of deposition: hoards rarely contained

coins from outside the local area. Iron Age iconography on the staters in the region under study used traditional imagery to inspire trust, which suggests that coin imagery was noticed by Iron Age users. This reinforces the relevance of iconographic studies, but rather than examining the symbolism of individual coins, perhaps it is worthwhile examining a more utilitarian function behind the use of certain images.²

8.1: Future Approaches

Future research would benefit from an enlargement of this work to cover the entirety of Gaul and Britain, as southern Gallic practices would have been influential in the north and the hoarding in northern Britain was influenced by developments in the Channel. A cursory examination of the Lincolnshire hoards, located immediately north of the region under study, shows that of the 15 hoards that contained staters and/or quarter staters, only four contained more than 25 coins.³ This small-scale hoarding of staters replicates the results from the region under study of this thesis, and it must be noted that four of the hoards in Lincolnshire contained Gallo-Belgic coins or coins from the British Kingdoms, so there is already a connection with the coinage of the Channel.⁴ Indeed, there is no reason to stop there: the Atlantic network, a concept championed by Barry Cunliffe, was a network stretching from the mouth of the Mediterranean to the Baltics that emerged from the prehistoric period and continued into the Medieval period and beyond.⁵ This resulted in contact, direct or second-hand, across a vast region, which culminated in shared cultural characteristics, such as, potentially, the Celtic languages.⁶ It would be interesting to see if these shared links continued to exist in the late Iron Age, and whether they encouraged similarities in the development of coins and coin hoarding. This would be the next logical step of and a major extension of this thesis.

An imminent project at the University of Leicester at the time of the writing of this thesis involves the comparison of Roman coin hoards with Iron Age coin hoards in Britain. Its role is to investigate the changes wrought by the Roman invasion and how quickly these changes manifested in Britain, and whether any indigenous practices of hoarding remained.

² Allen (1958); Creighton (2000); Woods (2014); Cassibry (2017).

³ de Jersey (2014) 261-282, nos. 159-161, 163-174.

⁴ de Jersey (2014) nos. 159-160, 166, 169.

⁵ Cunliffe (2001).

⁶ Cunliffe (2001) 294.

This is a logical extension of this thesis, and indeed I have examined this development in northern Gaul. Through the combination of these works, the reactions of the indigenous population to the expansion of imperial powers can be identified. Coinage ceased in the British Kingdoms immediately after its conquest, while it continued for some time in Belgic Gaul, so already different reactions can be determined.

There are few objects of antiquity that are as frustrating to study as Iron Age coins. Their difficulties in dating, a lack of evidence concerning their mint locations or the authorities that produced them and even the controversial nature of their function in Iron Age society are traits shared by few other objects. Placed within the context of Iron Age Gaul and Britain, areas without their own textual record and whose societies were only described in fragments by Roman and Greek authors, one faces many difficulties, where even the most basic statements are accompanied by a constant state of suspicion. Despite, or indeed because, of this uncertainty, Iron Age coinage remains a rewarding area of study. The mysteries surrounding the objects present opportunities and I believe it will take some time before we are confident in the knowledge of what these objects were or what they meant to their users. Nevertheless, I believe Iron Age coinage is one of the most useful tools for the Iron Age scholar, as they provide access to not only the cultural schema of the Iron Age Gauls and Britons in terms of their iconography, but also their high numbers of finds can reflect differences in regional economies and power structures. It is thus imperative that the study of Iron Age coins be given serious weight in our ongoing exploration of prehistory.

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